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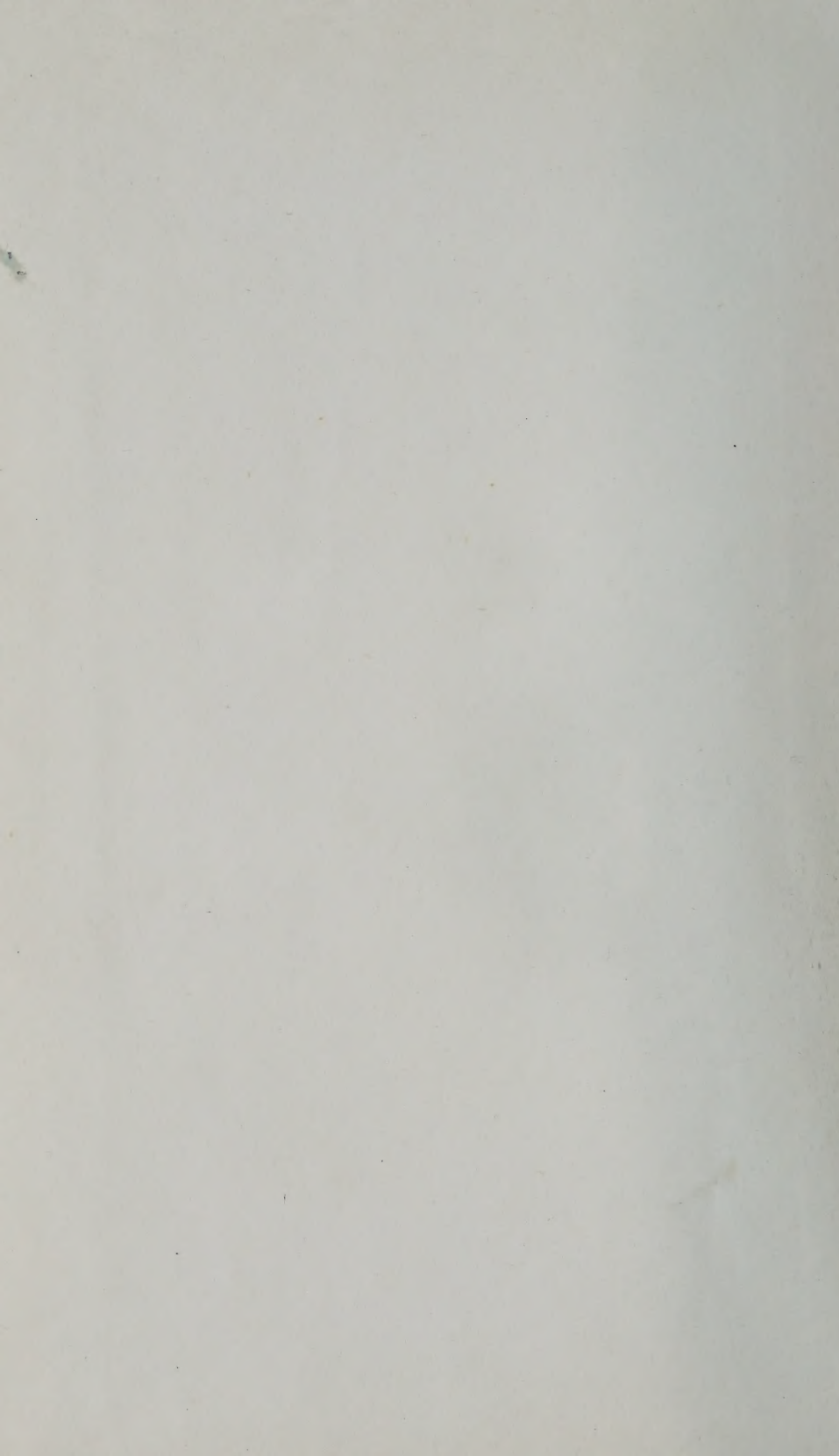


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*THE  
JOURNAL OF  
KARNATAK  
UNIVERSITY*

**SOCIAL SCIENCES**



VOL. VII

1971

# THE JOURNAL OF KARNATAK UNIVERSITY

## SOCIAL SCIENCES

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## RECRUITMENT COMMITTEES: AN EXPERIMENT IN DECENTRALISATION OF THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL PERSONNEL AGENCY.

K. V. VISHWANATHAIAH

**T**HE old Mysore State came to be territorially enlarged as a result of the States Reorganisation in November 1956. This reorganisation gave rise to a number of problems, one of which pertained to giving adequate representation in the State public services to the people of the newly integrated areas. Before the States were reorganised, the Central Personnel Agency in the old Mysore State was the State Public Service Commission. Even after November 1956, the same agency was allowed to continue. The people of the newly integrated areas had urged the State Government that they should be given adequate representation in the State Public Services. The Commission consisted of a Chairman and two other members. After Mysore State ceased to be Part-B State after November 1, 1956, the Commission had requested the Government to increase its strength and to provide adequate staff assistance to handle recruitment work. The State Government issued a Notification<sup>1</sup> increasing the strength of the Commission to four as against the existing two members of the Commission in addition to the Chairman. The people of the newly integrated areas were not happy with this as they were not sure whether this Commission would be able to secure adequate representation. Of course, the Government assured to the people that adequate representation would be given to them in the Gazetted cadres. The bulk of the posts pertained to Class III. So even the Government thought whether the Public Service Commission would be able to satisfy the regional urge. So it thought of decentralising the work of the Central Personnel Agency by setting up Recruitment Committees at the State level and at the Divisional levels. When a reference was made to the State Public Service Commission to know its opinion regarding this, the Commission agreed to the exclusion from its purview of recruitment of only certain categories of Class III posts but not all Class III posts. In the meanwhile the Government promulgated the Mysore Public Service Commission (Conduct of Business and Additional Functions) Act, 1959 which in turn empowered the Commission to make selections for recruitment to the services of Local Authorities. Between 1956 and 1959 the Commission had made bulk recruitment to Class III posts but the people of the newly integrated areas felt that

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1. Notification No. GAD (OM) 4 PSC 57 dated Bangalore, December 12, 1957.

the Commission had failed to secure adequate representation in the State Public Services. So the Government after a thorough re-examination of the whole question at the Secretariat level decided to decentralise the work of the Central Personnel Agency and issued an Order<sup>2</sup> to that effect. The Order said "In order to enable the Commission to devote more time to matters relating to Gazetted posts and more particularly in the interests of the speedy recruitment to various categories of Non-Gazetted posts throughout the State.....that recruitment to all Class III posts be excluded from the purview of the Mysore State Public Service Commission and that Mysore Public Service Commission (Consultation) Regulations, 1958, the Mysore Ministerial Services (Recruitment) Rules, 1958, and the Mysore State Civil Services Class III (Non-Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Rules, 1959, be amended accordingly." The same Order also set up the State Level (Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Committee, the State Level (Non-Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Committee and a Divisional Level Recruitment Committee for each one of the four Revenue Divisions. The State Level (Ministerial Posts) recruitment Committee was charged with the responsibility of recruiting candidates for State-wide posts including Stenographers and typists for the Secretariat and the offices of the Heads of Departments located at Bangalore; the State Level (Non-Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Committee, to recruit candidates for State-wide Non-Ministerial posts like Sub-Inspectors of Police, Agricultural Demonstrators, etc.; and the Divisional Level Recruitment Committee to recruit candidates for both Ministerial and Non-Ministerial Division-wide and District-wide posts.<sup>3</sup>

In the meanwhile the strength of the State Public Service Commission was increased to five members on July 4, 1962. The Mysore State Public Service Commission (Conditions of Service) Regulations, 1957 was amended. The Government issued the Mysore State Civil Services Class III Posts Recruitment Committees (Constitution and Functions) Rules on December 27, 1962 but gave retrospective effect from 23rd October, 1961. Though the Government had stated that the Recruitment Committees would be set up in its Order No. GAD 23 OOM 61 dated October 27, 1961, the Government spelled out the composition of the Committee and its functions in the Order dated

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2. Government Order No. GAD 23 OOM 61, dated Bangalore October, 27, 1961. This Order should be read along with another G.O. No. GAD 33 SSC 61, dated October 23, 1961.
  3. G.O. No. GAD (SLC) 3 RGM 61 dated Bangalore, January 29, 1962 classified all Class III Posts into State-wide, Division-wide and District-wide Posts. G.O. No. GAD (SLC) 25 RGM 61 dated Bangalore, February 26, 1962 ordered the respective Recruitment Committees to recruit candidates for State-wide, Division-wide and District-wide posts.

December 27, 1962. In reality, the Government had already constituted the Recruitment Committees. The Order issued in December 1962 stated that the State Level (Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Committee shall consist of Chief Secretary to the Government of Mysore or his nominee (Chairman), Director of Public Instruction in Mysore, or Joint Director of Public Instruction, Director of Social Welfare or Assistant Director of Social Welfare and such other officer or his nominee as Government may by order nominate for the specific purpose of selecting candidates for any particular category of posts, for recruitment to State-wide Ministerial posts; the State Level (Non-Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Committee shall consist of Secretary to the Government of Mysore in the concerned Department or his nominee (Chairman), Head of the Department concerned or his nominee, Deputy Secretary to Government or Under-Secretary to Government, of Social Welfare Department and such other officer or his nominee as Government may, by order nominate for the specific purpose of selecting candidates for any particular category of posts, for recruitment to State-wide Non-Ministerial Posts; and the Divisional Level Recruitment Committees in each Division shall consist of Divisional Commissioner of the concerned Division (Chairman), Deputy Director of Public Instruction in the Division concerned, Director of Social Welfare or Assistant Director of Social Welfare, a co-opted member (the Senior-most officer of the Department) and such other officer or his nominee as Government may, by order nominate for the specific purpose of selecting candidates for any particular category of posts for recruitment to Division-wide and District-wide posts. The staff assistance was provided to these Recruitment Committees in the first instance till March 31, 1965.\*

The Government authorised the Public Service Commission<sup>4</sup> to recruit candidates for all Class III posts carrying a basic pay of Rs. 150/- and above per month except the posts of Sub-Inspectors of Police, Supervisors and Junior Engineers in the P.W.D. In another Order<sup>5</sup> it authorised the State Level Recruitment Committees (both Non-Ministerial and Ministerial) to recruit candidates for State-wide posts the basic pay of which was less than Rs. 150/- per month, and to recruit the Sub-Inspectors of Police, Supervisors and Junior Engineers in the P.W.D. The Divisional Level Recruitment Committees were also authorised to recruit candidates for Division-wide and District-wide posts in their respective Divisions—Posts which carry less than Rs. 150/- per month.

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\*Though the Recruitment Committees ceased to function from April 1st, 1965, the staff assistance to it was continued till October 12, 1965.

4. Notification No. GAD 15 SSC 62 dated February 18, 1963.

5. Notification No. GAD (SLC) 26 RGM 61 dated Bangalore April 1st, 1963.



These Recruitment Committees were set up by an Executive Order and not by a statute. The decentralisation of the work of the Public Service Commission, the Central Personnel Agency was also done accordingly and this was a major mistake which the Government committed.

## II

The State Government laid down definite procedure to be followed by these Recruitment Committees in recruiting candidates for Class III Ministerial and Non-Ministerial State-wide, Division-wide and District-wide posts.<sup>6</sup> It was stated in these Rules that the Recruitment Committees should follow the rules of recruitment in force. In the case of Direct Recruitment to State-wide cadres, the tests and/or viva-voce examination should be held at Bangalore and at such other Centres as may be determined by the appropriate Recruitment Committee. In case of recruitment to Division-wide and District-wide posts directly, the same procedure should be followed. The appropriate Recruitment Committees should make all arrangements for actual conduct of the tests and/or viva-voce examination. In making selections, the said Recruitment Committees should take into account personality, general knowledge, previous experience of the candidates and the marks obtained in the public examination qualifying for appointment in addition to the marks obtained by them in the written tests, if any, conducted. The appropriate Recruitment Committee was given the power of assigning any candidate for a particular cadre to any particular Unit Office to which he was found suitable. The Committee was asked to prepare lists of candidates selected in the order of merit as per rules, to publish it in the Mysore Gazette and to forward a copy of the same to the concerned Unit Officers. The Unit Officers were requested to make the appointment subject to the reservation rules in force for Scheduled Castes, Schedule Tribes and other Backward Class candidates, from the said lists after making such verifications as may be necessary subject to any General or Special Orders of the Government in that behalf. It was also laid down that all questions arising for decision by the appropriate Recruitment Committee should be decided at a meeting of the members of that Committee as and when deemed necessary. The Mysore State Civil Services General Recruitment Rules, 1957, the Mysore Ministerial Services Recruitment Rules, 1958 and the Mysore State Civil Services, Class III (Non-Ministerial Posts) Recruitment Rules, 1959 would

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6. "G.O. No. GAD (SLC) 26 RGM 61 dated Bangalore, February 26, 1962"  
The Mysore State Civil Services Class III Posts Recruitment Committees (Constitution and Functions) Rules, 1962.

apply in respect of matters for which no provision exists. A provision was also made for the transfer of name of a selected candidate from one Unit to another by the appropriate Recruitment Committee provided the case was genuine. The unemployed candidates residing in one Revenue Division were allowed to apply for vacant posts arising in another Division and no geographical restrictions were placed on them.

### III

The Recruitment Committees functioned from October 1961 through March 1965 though they were allowed to exist till October 1965. The volume of work handled by these Committees were considerable. The number of persons recruited by these Committees is given in the next page (See next page for the Table.)

This table could be analysed as follows: As the table shows, the percentage of persons recruited does not depend upon the area of the Division. The area of the Belgaum Division is maximum but the percentage of persons recruited is the minimum i.e., 3.04 %. The area of the Gulbarga Division is the minimum but the percentage of persons recruited is not the maximum but higher than the percentage of persons recruited in Belgaum Division i.e., 10.5 %. Likewise, the area of Mysore Division is more than the area of Bangalore Division but the percentage of persons recruited in Bangalore Division is more than the percentage of persons recruited in Mysore Division. Thus, the percentage of persons recruited does not decrease or increase as the area of the Division decreases or increases. Secondly, let us see whether the percentage of persons recruited depends or not on the population of the Division. As against the population of the Bangalore Division, the number of persons recruited is 0.1 %; against the population of the Mysore Division, the number of persons recruited is 0.08 %. As the population decreases from Bangalore Division to Mysore Division, the number of persons recruited has also decreased. Likewise, against the population of the Gulbarga Division, the number of persons recruited is 0.1 %. There is decrease of population from Mysore Division to Gulbarga Division but the percentage of persons recruited has increased by 0.02 %. The percentage of persons recruited in Belgaum Division is 0.02 % though its population is double the population of that of Gulbarga Division. The percentage of persons recruited in Belgaum Division is not more than the percentage of persons recruited in Gulbarga Division. As such, the percentage of persons recruited has not increased or decreased with the increase or decrease of the population of the Division. Thirdly, let us find out whether there is any correlation between recruitment and the percentage of literacy. The percentage of literacy is maximum in Bangalore Division (i.e.

TABLE 1

Source:—Information collected at GAD, Government Secretariat, Bangalore  
 Recruitment made by the Recruitment Committees: October 1961—April 1, 1963

Serial No.	Name of the Committee	Name of the Division	Area of the Division in Sq. Kilometres before 1-1-1966	Population of the Division as per 1961 Census	Number of persons Recruited with Percentage
1	2	3	4	5	6
1)	Divisional Level Recruitment Committee	Bangalore (34.3%)*	47,589.56	71,71,553** (0.1%)	7,442*** (15.6%)
2)	—do—	Mysore (21.3%)*	54,016.65	69,67,795** (0.08%)	6,752*** (12.5%)
3)	—do—	Gulbarga* (14.7%)*	35,686.31	31,63,524** (0.1%)	3,778*** (10.5%)
4)	—do—	Belgaum (26.0%)*	54,463.55	62,83,900** (0.02%)	1,661*** (3.04%)
5)	State Level Recruitment Committees (both Ministerial and Non-Ministerial)	—	—	—	—

Legend:— \*Percentage of Literacy as per 1961 Census.

\*\*Percentage of Persons recruited against population of the Division (Col. 5 to 6).

\*\*\*Percentage of Persons Recruited against the area of the Division (Col. 4 to 6).



34.3 %); so also the population of the Division and the percentage of persons recruited. The total percentage of literacy and the population decrease from Bangalore Division to Mysore Division and from Mysore Division to Gulbarga Division. Though the percentage of literacy in Gulbarga Division is only 14.7 %, the percentage of persons recruited is 10.5 %. The percentage of literacy in Belgaum Division is 26.0 % but the percentage of persons recruited is hardly 3.04 %. The percentage of recruitment in Bangalore Division is 15.6 %. It would not be wrong to say here that there is no correlation whatsoever between recruitment and literacy. Another reason that may be given is that the literate persons of one Division might have applied to another Division where the percentage of literacy is not very high. This is only a presumption. In any case, the Belgaum Division has recorded a low percentage of recruitment. In view of these things, it is very hard to say whether these Recruitment Committees were able to secure adequate regional representation in the State Public Services.

The above table does not give any indication whether adequate representation in the State Public Services was secured. At the time of the termination of the Recruitment Committees, 22,027 persons had already been recruited. Out of 22,027 persons, 4,963 persons were local candidates. Though the State Government made an experiment in decentralising the work of the Public Service Commission, the Central Personnel Agency in the State, by setting up the Recruitment Committees with a view to give adequate representation to the people of the integrated areas, it did not completely succeed. The Recruitment Committees by and large also could not fill up the posts reserved for Backward Classes (30 %), Scheduled Castes (15 %), Scheduled Tribes (3 %) and General (open to all—52 %), in spite of its best efforts. The relevant figures of the Belgaum Division for the fiscal year 1962–63 have been given in Table No. 2 (See next page for the table) as an illustration of this aspect of the work of the Divisional Committees.

One could see from the table (Table No. 2) that the quota reserved for the Scheduled Tribes both for the Division-wide and District-wide posts could not be filled up at all. This was due to the lack of availability of the candidates. In filling up of the reserved posts for Scheduled Castes which were Division-wide there was nearly a complete success. Even all the General vacancies could not be filled up. Regarding the District-wide posts for Scheduled Castes, only one post was filled up.

The State Government sanctioned the budget every year and the Recruitment Committees incurred the expenditure within the budgetary limits. The expenditure was not much. As an illustration, the amount spent in respect of the Belgaum Divisional Level Recruitment Committee during the years 1961–64 has been given in Table

TABLE 2

Source:—Information Collected at the office of the Divisional Commissioner, Belgaum  
 Number of Posts Reserved and Filled by the Divisional Level Recruitment Committee, Belgaum

Total No. of Posts Advertised	General: Reserved	General: Posts Filled	Backward Classes: Reserved	Backward Classes: Posts Filled	Scheduled Castes: Reserved	Scheduled Castes: Filled	Scheduled Tribes: Posts Reserved	Scheduled Tribes: Posts Filled	Total No. of Persons Selected
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
316	164	90	95 plus 84 carried over from the previous year	Division-wide 179	47	41	10	Nil	310
68	35	19	20	District-wide Posts 20	10	1	3	Nil	40

TABLE 3

Source:—Information furnished by the Office of the  
Divisional Level Recruitment Committee, Belgium

Year	Pay of Officers	Pay of Establish- ments	*T.A.Plus **D.A.Plus ***O.A.Plus	Conti- gencies Plus other Charges	Misce- llaneous	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Budget Sanctioned during 1961-62 for 3 months only						
	Rs. 1,200	Rs. 2,000	Rs. 500 120 180 <u>800</u>	Rs. 500 1,000 <u>1,500</u>	Rs. 5,500	Rs. 11,000
Amount Spent	1,000	800	50 120 60 <u>230</u>	500 1,000 <u>1,500</u>	3,530	7,840
Budget Sanctioned during 1962-63						
	Rs. 4,800	Rs. 8,000	Rs. 2,000 500 800 <u>3,300</u>	Rs. 2,000 4,000 <u>6,000</u>	Rs. 22,100	Rs. 44,200
Amount Spent	3,650	5,361	203 1,077 622 <u>1,902</u>	1,508 2,884 <u>4,392</u>	15,305	30,610
Budget Sanctioned during 1963-64						
	Rs. 3,800	Rs. 5,700	Rs. 500 700 400 <u>1,600</u>	Rs. 1,800 2,200 <u>4,000</u>	Rs. 100	Rs. 15,200
Amount Spent:	3,870	5,700	500 1,165 358 <u>2,023</u>	1,000 2,000 <u>3,000</u>	32	14,625

\*T.A. = Travelling Allowance;

\*\*D.A. = Dearness Allowance

\*\*\*O.A. = Other Allowance.



No. 3. The D.L.R.C. spent Rs. 30,610/- during 1962-63. It is worth noting that the amount in the next fiscal year decreased to Rs. 14,625/- It was creditable on the part of this Committee that it always spent less amount than sanctioned. The case with respect to other Recruitment Committees may be said to be more or less the same though the exact figures in their cases slightly varied. In this way it can be said that these Recruitment Committees did not prove to be very expensive particularly in view of a very large number of recruitments made by them.

In its working also the Recruitment Committees were not interfered with by the State Government. The relationship between these Recruitment Committees and the State Government was cordial throughout and there was no trouble whatsoever.

#### IV

The experiment in decentralisation was short-lived. The recruitment made by these Committees came to be challenged in the Court of Law in two important cases namely (1) Govindappa Tirkappa Hirakeri-Petitioner v. Inspector General of Registration and Commissioner of Stamps and Others-Respondents<sup>7</sup>; and (2) Kenchaiah and Others v. The State Level Recruitment Committee and others-Respondents.<sup>8</sup> The High Court in both these cases quashed the recruitment made by these Committees. As a result the State Government was very much worried and it wanted to get all the appointments made by these Recruitment Committees validated. It stopped further recruitments by these Committees. The Mysore State Civil Services Class III posts Recruitment (Validation) Ordinance was promulgated by the Governor. But this was also challenged in the Court on October 1, 1965. The Petitioners submitted that the dominant object and purpose of the Ordinance was to defeat the constitutional remedy under Article 226 of the Indian Constitution and it was a clear fraud on power. Thus the Petitioners opposed the action of the Government. In the meanwhile a bill was introduced in the State Assembly. The Mysore State Legislature passed the Mysore Civil Services Class III Posts Recruitment Validation Bill and it became an Act. The Government made it clear to the public that the Ordinance was promulgated and subsequently got it validated by the legislative enactment in order to validate the selections and appointments made by these Recruit-

7. "Govindappa Tirkappa Hirakeri Vs. Inspector General of Registration and Commissioner of Stamps and others Writ Petition No. 1979 of '63. *The Mysore Law Journal*, Vol. 43, July 10, 1964, No. 13, P. 133.

8. Writ Petition No. 1733/64: Kenchaiah and Others Vs. The State Level Recruitment Committee and Others-Respondents," *The Mysore Law Journal*, Vol. 44, August 5. 1965. No. 21 PP. 160-167.

ment Committees. This had been done just to get over the defects in the Executive Order and legislative enactments pointed out by the Court. The Mysore High Court on February 9, 1966 upheld the validity of the Mysore State Civil Services Class III Posts Recruitment (Validation) Act, 1965 and dismissed all the petitions. It emphasised that the Act had been passed to get over the difficulties. The Legislature could exercise powers both prospectively and retrospectively. The Legislature had not encroached upon the field of the Executive.

In spite of this decision of the High Court, many went to the extent of criticising the action of the Government in setting up the Recruitment Committees. The Government took a decision to wind up the Recruitment Committees and these were abolished with effect from October 12, 1965 by a Government Order No. GAD 40 SSC 64 dated Bangalore October 12, 1965.

The State Government sincerely wanted to give adequate representation to the people of the newly merged areas with the Old Mysore State in the State Public Services. Unfortunately, it could not succeed. It could not satisfy the regional urge though it tried its level best sincerely. The allegation that no principle or standard had been followed in the recruitments was very unfair and unjust. The Recruitment Committees never indulged in any kind of nepotism and favouritism. If the recruitments made by these Committees came to be challenged in the Court of Law and were declared illegal, the fault lay with the Government which had created these Committees by an Executive Order and had later on framed defective Rules. The Government Officials constituting these Committees felt very bitter about the uncharitable motivations attributed to them when in reality they had acted with a high sense of responsibility and objectivity. In conclusion, it could be said that the Government even tried to give representation to the people of newly integrated areas in the Gazetted cadres but there also it came under heavy attack by the vested interests. However, had these Recruitment Committees been created by legislative enactment and legal implications of the various rules and procedures made by the Government for making various recruitments been carefully analysed, the fate of these Recruitment Committees would have been altogether different. The Government vested the power to recruit candidates for all Class III posts in the hands of the State Public Service Commission on April 1st, 1965.

It is not known to what extent it has been able to secure regional representation in the State Public Services. The trend of thinking at present is to revive once again these Recruitment Committees on a statutory basis so that the people of the newly merged areas with the Old Mysore State could get adequate representation in the State Public Services at all levels.

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## PLANTATIONS IN INDIAN ECONOMY

M. HALAYYA

**T**HE plantation system of agriculture differs markedly from peasant farming in ways more than one. The way the crop is raised, harvested, processed and marketed in the plantation system has very little in common with peasant farming.

### I PLANTATION — A DEFINITION

The I.L.O. defines a plantation as follows: “..... the term ‘plantation’ includes any agricultural undertaking regularly employing hired workers which is situated in the tropical or sub-tropical regions and which is mainly concerned with the cultivation or production for commercial purposes of coffee, tea, sugarcane, rubber, bananas, cocoa, coconuts, groundnuts, cotton, tobacco, fibres (sisal, jute and hemp), citrus, palm oil, cinchona or pineapple; it does not include family or small-scale holdings producing for local consumption and not regularly employing hired workers.” The definition also provides for adding to the above list one or more of the following crops: rice, chicory, cardamom, geranium, pyrethrum or any other crop.<sup>1</sup>

While the I.L.O. definition insists on the regular employment of hired workers, in most countries where plantation crops are being grown, a certain land area is prescribed as a requirement.

In India, in addition to the concept of the size of land, a plantation is also required to employ a minimum of hired labour. Thus, the Plantation Labour Act of 1951, as amended in 1960, defines a plantation as any land used or intended to be used for growing cinchona, coffee, rubber or tea and which admeasures 25 acres (or 10.117 hectares) or more and in which not less than 20 workers are being employed or have been employed on any day of the preceding twelve months.

A plantation is, in fact, an agricultural holding large enough and to which, modern managerial techniques can be applied. The idea of plantations came with the experience of industrial management. Since industrialisation began earlier in European countries, Europeans were the pioneers in this type of agricultural development. The plantation industry has an agricultural base. Mr. T. Jogarathnam defines a plantation as “a form of large-scale cultivation that uses considerable amount of capital and labour in the production of crops primarily meant for export. As a large-scale system of commercial



agriculture, it is not only different but considerably in advance of the traditional system of peasant agriculture.”<sup>2</sup>

Almost all crops can be raised under the plantation system. However, the better known plantation crops of the world are tea, coffee, rubber, cocoa, cotton, bananas, sisal, coconut, cane sugar, cardamom, cinchona, tapioca, pepper, cashew and arecanut.

Coconut palms are grown in the plantations of Ceylon and Indonesia. Tapioca and pepper are plantation crops in Indonesia and cashew is being grown on plantation lines in certain parts of Africa.

The advantage of growing crops on a plantation basis are obvious. Plantation rubber, for example, is a native of Brazil; but it is not grown there on plantation lines.<sup>3</sup> Rubber seeds were taken from Brazil to Malaysia, Indonesia, Ceylon and India and the great rubber plantation industry raised from these seeds provides 99 per cent of all natural rubber appearing in world trade. Again, for over one hundred years, China was the main supplier of tea to the world. China raised tea as a peasant crop, whereas India, Ceylon, and Indonesia raised it on plantation lines with the result that the latter ousted China from the dominating position in the world tea market about sixty-five years ago. To take still another example, India had a net surplus of coconut products till 1921; but since then we are importing coconuts. Ceylon, Indonesia and Malaysia, where coconut is produced on plantations are India's suppliers and from them Indian growers are seeking protection. The Dutch introduced pepper in Indonesia from cuttings taken from Kerala. Yet, prior to the Second World War, Indonesia and the neighbouring countries of the Malayan Archipelago accounted for 94 per cent of pepper appearing in the world market.<sup>4</sup> Indian coffee, which is known for its excellent quality, did not develop into an industry of any importance till it was grown on a plantation scale and the growers became organised.

## II PLANTATION IN WORLD ECONOMY

### (A) AREA CULTIVATED

Plantations cover much larger areas in Asia than in Latin America or in Africa; nearly 24 million hectares in four Asian countries (Ceylon India, Indonesia and Malaysia) as against 14 million hectares in Latin America (Colombia, Costa Rica, Brazil, Equador and Peru) and 2 million hectares in Africa (Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mauritius and Tanganyika).<sup>5</sup>

The plantations of India and Brazil together represent about three-quarters of the total area of plantations in the thirteen countries mentioned above (46 per cent in India and 28 per cent in Brazil).

The land surface occupied by plantations in comparison with that of cultivated land is proportionately very high (more than half) in certain countries such as Mauritius, Malaysia, Ceylon, Ivory Coast and Brazil, which partly explains the importance of plantations in the first three of these countries, given the fact that their cultivated area in itself represents a high proportion of their whole territory. Colombia, Costa Rica, Equador and Peru fall into a separate category in which the cultivated area is small (less than one-tenth) and in which the plantations represent between 25 per cent and a little over 40 per cent of that area i.e., a medium proportion. In Cameroon and Tanganyika, plantations cover only 5 per cent of the cultivated area in each.

#### (B) PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS

Although the principal plantations are in the main concentrated in the three large areas of the world — Asia, Africa and Latin America—it must not be forgotten that certain countries outside these areas, notably the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the first and second largest cotton producers in the world and that some of the South Sea areas such as Australia, Hawaii and the Fiji Islands produce a considerable quantity of cane sugar in relation to world production of that commodity (about 10 per cent, taking these countries together).

World production of each of the eight main products (bananas, cane sugar, cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, sisal and tea) is often concentrated only in one of the three great plantation areas of the world. In other words, one or two of these areas often produce only a comparatively low or even negligible proportion of the world production of certain crops. On the other hand, within the same areas, one or two countries alone supply a high proportion of the world output of one plantation product or another.

Certain commodities like cane sugar, cocoa, coffee, rubber and sisal are grown primarily for export. Others, such as bananas and cotton, are often largely consumed within the producer countries.

The following is an analysis of the situation in 1962 or 1963 for each of the main plantation products:

##### (a) Bananas

Latin American countries produce more than two-thirds of the world output of bananas: Brazil alone supplies more than one-quarter of world production, a quantity equal to the output of the whole of the continent of Asia.

All over the world bananas are produced primarily for domestic consumption, only 18 per cent of the world production being exported.

The only exceptions are Cameroon, Costa Rica, Equador and (to a lesser extent) Colombia, in which the percentage of export is higher.

### (b) Cane Sugar

Half of the world production of cane sugar comes from Latin American countries, notably Cuba, which is the world's largest producer. Brazil stands second, but with only one-tenth of the world production. The Asian countries supply almost a quarter of the world total, and all the African countries no more than about 12 per cent.

The volume of cane sugar exports varies considerably from one producer country to another. In Africa, Mauritius exports four-fifths of its production, but Tanganyika less than one-tenth. In Latin America, Cuba exports practically the whole of its production. Brazil, the second largest producer of cane sugar in the world, exports less than half of its output, because domestic consumption per capita is very high. In Asia, India (which is the world's third largest producer of cane sugar) exports only one-fifth of its sugar, while Indonesia exports one-quarter.

### (c) Cocoa

Africa produces three-quarters of the world supply of cocoa. The remaining quarter is supplied by Latin America. Ghana alone produces more cocoa than the whole of Latin America. 89 per cent of world production of cocoa is exported.

### (d) Coffee

Latin America produces more than 70 per cent of the world production of coffee. Africa produces about 25 per cent. The total production of Asia represents, therefore, only about 5 per cent. Brazil is the largest producer and Colombia stands next only to Brazil. Coffee is mainly an export commodity, more than two-thirds of world production being exported.

### (e) Cotton

The pattern of world production of cotton is as follows:

U.S.A.	..	31 per cent
Asia	..	30 „ „
U.S.S.R.	..	14 „ „
Latin America		15 „ „
Africa	..	9 „ „
Others	..	1 „ „
		<u>100 per cent</u>

Source:—I.L.O. *Plantation Workers*, Geneva, 1966, p. 11.



Cotton is produced mainly for domestic consumption, only one-third being exported. But in the African and Latin American countries exports represent nearly three-quarters and almost two-thirds of the production respectively.

#### [f] Rubber

More than nine-tenths of world's rubber output come from Asia where Malaysia and Indonesia together produce 65 per cent of the world total (40 per cent and 25 per cent respectively).

Malaysia is the main exporting country. Rubber is essentially an export commodity, 98 per cent of the total output being exported.

#### [g] Tea

As in the case of rubber, nine-tenths of the world output of tea come from Asia. India and Ceylon supply respectively 35 per cent and 21.3 per cent of the world total. Africa produces only 5 per cent.

Slightly less tea is consumed in the home market than what is exported. About 55 per cent of the world total is being exported.

Table 1 shows in the ascending order of importance the percentages of exports of plantation products as against world production:

TABLE 1  
Percentage of Plantation Products Exported  
as against World Production in 1962 or 1963

Product	Percentage of World Production Exported
Bananas	18.2
Cotton	32.5
Tea	54.5
Coffee	67.6
Cocoa	88.6
Sisal	89.4
Rubber	97.8

Source:—I.L.O. *Plantation Workers*, Geneva, 1966, p. 12.

#### (C) IMPORTANCE OF PLANTATIONS IN NATIONAL ECONOMIES

Most of the plantations are located in developing countries whose economies are based mainly on agriculture. In effect they have no means of obtaining the foreign exchange so necessary for their economic and social development except through their commodity exports. Hence, exports of plantation products are of utmost import-

ance to them—an importance which can be seen by comparing such exports with their total export figures.

Except in Peru and India, in most other plantation countries the value of plantation products equals more than half of the total value of national exports. In Mauritius, Costa Rica, Equador, Ceylon and Colombia, this proportion actually exceeds 80 per cent. In Brazil, Ivory Coast, Cameroon and Tanganyika, it is between 60 and 75 per cent. In Malaysia and Indonesia the proportion is just over half, but drops to about one-third in Peru and about a quarter in India.

In all countries except Peru and India, not more than two commodities provide this proportion of total exports. Coffee in Brazil and Colombia, bananas in Equador, tea in Ceylon, rubber in Malaysia and Indonesia and cane sugar in Mauritius are the single commodities which form a major part in exports. The bulk of national exports consists of two commodities in Costa Rica (coffee and bananas), Ivory Coast and Cameroon (coffee and cocoa). In Tanganyika three plantation products (sisal, cotton and coffee) account for three-fifths of the value of the country's exports.

In Peru and India, plantation products are not the main products exported. India exports mainly cotton textiles and jute manufactures, the value of exports of plantation products being only about a fifth of the total value of all exports. In Peru the value of cotton and cane sugar exports accounts for respectively one-fifth and one-tenth of the total value of the country's exports, that of mineral products being far greater.

### III. PLANTATION INDUSTRY AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY

Barely seventy-five years ago, many of the well known plantation districts of today were covered with inaccessible virgin jungles. Malaria made them uninhabitable. There were hardly any means of transport and communication to these difficult mountainous tracts. Says K. J. Tanna,<sup>6</sup> "Unmindful of the difficulties that confronted them, enterprising young men hewed their way into thick jungle far distant from towns to open up plantations. They trod along muddy and leach-infested tracks made by wild elephants and bison, and where there were no paths a new one had to be made by them with the shovel they carried in their hands."

Any activity which helps people to produce something of use is beneficial to the economy. How beneficial the activity is depends on the number of people it affects. If India's agriculture is managed on plantation lines, it would revolutionise Indian agriculture and affect the whole nation. Even as it is, the plantation industry affects a considerable number of people and creates for the country a sizable

amount of wealth. A large part of the wealth is earned from foreign countries and this wealth enables the nation to buy essential supplies, equipments and machinery so urgently needed for its industrialisation.

Every rupee earned through exports is a contribution to the nation's efforts to develop the economy. Since Independence (1947), the plantation industry has been making increasing contribution to the nation's efforts at earning more and more of foreign exchange. It may be noted that tea, coffee and rubber are not the only plantation crops of India, though they are the major ones. Taking all the plantation crops, the plantation industry maintained an export level between 16.48 per cent and 29.57 per cent of the country's export earnings during the nineteen years from 1947-48 to 1965-66. India's export earnings were Rs. 4,034.0 million in 1947-48, of which the plantation products accounted for Rs. 664.8 million. In 1965-66, the export earnings stood at Rs. 8,052.8 million. Despite a fall in the price, exports of plantation crops accounted for 21.19 per cent of the total earnings.<sup>7</sup> What is significant is, unlike most other export commodities, plantation products have a very small import content and the smallest export promotion outlay relative to earnings.

A fairly large proportion of the wealth created by the plantation industry goes to government in taxes and duties. Another large proportion goes towards labour welfare. Still another substantial portion goes towards buying the products of other industries, thereby stimulating their growth.

In a country where unemployment and underemployment are a serious national problem, the plantation industry provides employment to nearly 1.5 million people. In addition to providing work, it also houses a large number of workers and their families, looks after their health, gives their children facilities for early education, covers the workers with provident fund and gratuity, sickness and maternity benefits and progressively improves their comforts and welfare.

Some of the wealth created is set aside to provide a reserve against possible adversity in the future and some reinvested to create more wealth.

The following figures will show to some extent the place of plantations in India's economy:<sup>8</sup> The active population of India as a percentage of the total population of the country is 43; of this, nearly three-quarters (73.5 per cent) are employed in agriculture. The plantation industry provides employment to 0.7 per cent of the total agricultural population, though the area under plantation crops is only 0.3 per cent of the total area under cultivation. Plantations produce crops valued at about 5 per cent of the total agricultural output. That the average real income of a working family in plantations is much



higher (more than double) than that of an average agricultural family is well known.

So far as the contribution of the plantation industry to public revenues is concerned, approximately a quarter of the income received from the plantations is devoted to Central, State and Local government revenues. It is as if a quarter of the acreage is planted, manured and equipped by the plantation industry to produce year after year to increase public revenues.

The plantation industry was one of the earliest in the country to recognise the need for research. It set up an organisation for research and experimentation about sixty-five years ago and guarded the crops against a variety of diseases. The Tocklai Experimental Station in Assam and the Scientific Department of the United Planters' Association of Southern India in Tamil Nadu are standing examples of what research could achieve in increasing the yield per hectare. Improved planting material raised the yield per hectare and so changed the cultivation methods, farm management and the processing of crops that the industry has become the best exemplifier of scientific agriculture in the country. Writing about the importance of research in agriculture, T.W. Schultz<sup>9</sup> observes as follows: "Although the economic value of such knowledge is hard to reckon, this knowledge is the mark that distinguishes modern agriculture. Remove it, and the abundance of food in the technically advanced countries would be impossible."

#### RECORD OF PRODUCTION

That the plantation industry in India is well organised is shown by the fact that it has survived pretty well the large number of crises during the present century. We may take the major plantation crops and survey their record of growth during the last thirty years.

##### (i) Tea

During the world depression of the thirties, the tea industry was hard hit by declining prices and to get over the difficult situation, India became a party to the International Tea Agreement in April, 1933, and by common consent it was decided to stop all new planting from 1933 onwards. Despite the restriction on new planting, the production of tea expanded at an amazing rate (96 per cent between 1938 and 1968) as the figures in Table 2 will show:

The yield obtained by tea plantations shows that progress has been maintained over the years. Since 1938 the yield per hectare has increased remarkably by 513 kgs. per hectare. The percentage increase is 84. Even though there have been fluctuations in the yield per hectare

TABLE 2  
Area, Production and Average Yield per Hectare from 1938 to 1969

Year	Area in Hectares (in thousand)	Production of Tea (in million kgs.)	Average yield per Hectare (in kgs.)
1938	337.4	205.0	608
1939	336.9	205.3	610
1950	315.7	278.2	881
1951	316.9	285.4	901
1952	317.9	278.7	877
1953	318.6	278.8	875
1954	319.5	295.5	925
1955	320.2	307.2	961
1956	320.6	308.7	963
1957	323.3	310.8	961
1958	325.4	325.2	1000
1959	326.5	326.0	998
1960	330.7	321.0	971
1961	331.2	354.4	1070
1962	332.5	346.7	1043
1963	334.0	346.4	1037
1964	337.9	372.5	1102
1965	341.8	366.4	1072
1966	345.3	376.0	1089
1967	347.7	384.8	1107
1968	361.1	402.5	1146
1969*	353.4	396.0	1121

\*Provisional

Source:—Tea Board, *Tea Statistics*, 1969–70, Calcutta, 1970, p. 17.

from year to year, there has been uninterrupted increase. This perhaps indicates that the optimum level under the existing conditions has not yet been achieved.

The area under tea has increased only by 16,000 hectares during the period, an increase of less than 5 per cent. The increase in production and the yield per hectare are, therefore, attributable almost entirely to improved methods of cultivation.

India occupies the first place among the principal tea-producing countries, so far as the yield per hectare is concerned. While in 1968 the yield per hectare in Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia, and East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Malawi) were 930 kgs., 697 kgs., 666 kgs., and 999 kgs., respectively, that of India was 1,146 kgs.

## (ii) Coffee

All the coffee grown in India prior to 1900 was exported, but since then there has been a steady growth in Indian coffee consumption. At the commencement of World War II, it was estimated that the

consumption of coffee in India was in the neighbourhood of 8,000 tonnes per annum. The estimated internal consumption of coffee for 1970-71 is 40,000 tonnes.

World production of coffee was 68,215,000 tonnes in 1963-64 and it was distributed as follows:

North America	651,240	Tonnes
South America	2,179,980	„
Africa	1,022,040	„
Asia and Oceania	170,940	„
India	68,700	„

Source:—*Commerce Annual Number*, 1965, Bombay, 1966, p. A. 114.

Production of coffee in India registered an all-time record of 78,300 tonnes in 1966-67. However, in 1969-70, production was only 62,900. During the last six years, production has been fluctuating between a high of 78,000 tonnes and a low of 57,000 tonnes.

The area under coffee in India in 1936-37 was only 76,927 hectares whereas by 1963-64, it had increased to 129,555 hectares. The increase in area in India has been, however, less than the world increase, the world increase having been twice that of India during the same period.

Over the years, production of coffee has increased remarkably, despite many difficulties. The rate of increase has been more than that of world production. Thus, it is interesting to note that while world production has gone up by 64.4 per cent, Indian production has risen by 353.9 per cent (from 15,182 tonnes in 1936-37 to 68,700 tonnes in 1963-64).

The International Coffee Organisation fixed India's export quota of coffee for 1969-70 at 23,447 tonnes. For 1970-71, the quota has been raised to 24,395 tonnes. In addition, a quota of 10,000 tonnes has been reserved for export to non-quota countries. In view of coffee being a good foreign exchange-earner and the increasing volume of production, it is necessary to establish Indian coffee firmly in foreign markets, even from now, taking into account larger crops that will be harvested in the future.

The coffee industry has a first class research station capable of evolving schemes for intensified production and disease control. There has been a marked improvement in the output of coffee and in keeping with the progress achieved by tea, Indian, coffee has moved up in the world ranking for yields to the fifth position.

### (iii) Rubber

Rubber is a late comer as compared with tea and coffee. The rubber industry is almost wholly confined to South India, particularly to Kerala. Rubber trees were raised primarily as an export crop, but



now rubber has become a strategic commodity of great importance to the nation. Unique among the world rubber producers, India has a large and growing rubber manufacturing industry, and the rubber plantations are now expanding to meet the country's increasing demand. Over 60 per cent of the present plantations were raised during the last fifteen years. In 1954, the area under rubber was only 71,517 hectares as against the 1964-65 area of 155,389 hectares. Out of this, an area of only 108,502 was being tapped.

The production of natural rubber in 1950 was 15,849 tonnes, but it had risen to 50,530 tonnes by 1965-66.<sup>9</sup>

The natural rubber producers in India enjoy a unique position, for the marketing of rubber is never a problem to them. The industrial complexes of the country are able to consume much more than what is produced at home. The Indian rubber industry has not been able to meet the demands of the manufacturing industries, with the result that the country has to import rubber. In the other rubber-producing countries of the world, the position is just the opposite. For instance, Malaysia, the biggest producer of natural rubber in the world, consumes only 1.5 per cent of its production, the rest being sold in the world market in the face of keen competition from other rubber-producing countries.

#### IV. SUMMING UP

It is a significant feature of these three major plantation crops, that they are among all the agricultural crops of India, to have leading yield ranking in the world, whereas the ranking in the case most of the other crops to which millions of acres have been devoted in India are at or near the bottom of the yield scales. For instance, in rice which is produced from about 37 million hectares, our yield ranking is fifty-second among 68 countries. In wheat, we were thirty-eighth among 63 countries in 1969. In leaf tobacco, we were forty-sixth among 84 countries in 1966. In cotton, our yield ranking was forty-fifth among 49 countries. In barley, we were forty-second among 52 countries. The output from these millions of hectares has increased in the last three years, relative to the area occupied by them. But the world ranking in yield hasn't shown any significant change.

The importance of the plantation industry arises mainly from the following: (i) Most of our plantation crops, particularly tea, are good foreign exchange-earners, (ii) The chief plantation states (*viz.*, Assam, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Mysore) and the Government of India derive a sizable amount as revenue from the plantations. (iii) The plantation industry gives employment to more than 1.5 million people. (iv) The plantation industry is an important supporter of the

fertiliser and plywood industries. (v) Tea, coffee and cashew have some food value. (vi) The plantation industry's contribution to the transport earnings of the railways cannot be underestimated. (vii) The plantation industry has made significant contribution to the development of social overheads like railways, roads, schools and hospitals, the provision of wholesome drinking water, etc. The far-reaching effects of these infrastructures to the plantation districts in particular and the country in general can hardly be over-stressed.

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# PALA'WAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION<sup>1</sup>

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(Based on a field-work among the seminomadic tribe of  
Palawan Island, Philippines)

## Introduction:

The Pala'wan, one of the four ethnic groups of Palawan Island, Philippines, mostly inhabit the mountains, valleys and coastal areas of the southern and southwestern parts of the island. They also live near Tagbanuwa settlements on the central parts of the island. But when compared with the settlements on the southern coasts these are small and scattered. The Pala'wan are in close contact with other ethnic groups of the island as well as with Christian and Muslims who to a great extent have influenced their customs and traditions. In general, however, the Pala'wan have much in common with the Tagbanuwa, a dominant neighbour, in their mode of living, social organization and belief system.

The Pala'wan, as an ethnic group, are looked down upon by immigrant Christians and Muslims. This attitude is due to Pala'wan customs and institutions which are indeed, different from theirs. A lack of a systematic study has also mislead the scholars, regarding the group identity and culture of the Pala'wan. Fox (1951:24) faced a considerable confusion as to the identity of Pala'wan as an ethnic group. So did Beyer (1916 : 64) when he wrote that the Pala'wan general culture is similar to the Tagbanuwa. Dean Worcester (1914: 595), after a linguistic study, has stated that he has failed to find any tribal differences between the 'Paluanes' (Pala'wan) and the Tagbanuwa. Fow (1954), in his intensive study of the 'Religion and Society among the Tagbanuwa', has brought further more facts to light. After a critical analysis of the opinions of Beyer and Worcester, Fox (1954:24) has come to the conclusion that all these ethnic groups of Palawan island might be from a common stock and today's differences are due to outside influences.

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<sup>1</sup>The data for this paper were collected when the author was in the Palawan Island participating in the First Summer Field School in Anthropology organized by the National Museum of the Philippines and The University of the Philippines, during June-July, 1965.

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Pala'wan speak a dialect which is also called Palawan. It was believed, in the past, they used the Indian script, which their neighbours, Tagbanuwa, are still using. No census figures are available on Pala'wan. The estimated population figures vary far apart from one another. Beyer (1916:72), estimated both Tagbanuwa and Pala'wan under a common name—Tagbanuwa, as about 19,460. Fox (1954:21), has estimated the population of Pala'wan as 9,000 and Tagbanuwa as 7,000.

Physically, Pala'wan do not differ much from other ethnic groups of Palawan island. But they differ much with Muslim and Christian immigrants. In general, the Pala'wan are not tall and well-built. When compared to the slit eyes of other Filipinos, Pala'wans' eyes are bit shallow, broad, and sharp. The nose-form is the same as Malavan type—broad and small.

The dress of a Pala'wan women is a piece of cloth rolled around the waist which lengths up to the knee. The cloth they choose is a bright mixture of red, white and yellow. Women in interior settlements, where the missionary activities are less, do not wear blouses or any cloth above the waist. Men wear G-string; and a shirt over it when they go out to other settlements. Young boys and girls of 6-7 years age group wore one piece of cloth.

Generally, Pala'wan women grow long hair which are combed and rolled (braided) into a pigtail. Among men elders also grow long hair as a status symbol. Bracelets, commonly made by grounding sea shells, and rarely a metal one, are used by women. There are two types of shell bracelets. One type is broad, both in breadth and dimension with a ring ridge on the middle. These are mostly worn by married and elderly women as a status symbol. The other type is thin, small and ridgeless; often they are made of ordinary sea shell. These bracelets are mostly worn by girls and especially those who have newly established their households. Men also wear brass bracelets to display their financial status.

Women punch their ears and often a twig is inserted in them. Now, the younger generation and especially those who live near the coasts, use ear-rings brought from the markets. The hole in the ear, among the older age-sets, serves as a place to keep the coil of native cigarette. Often men have tattoos, which is a recent innovation. Pala'wan do not have any tribal or group marks and they do not have the custom of initiation. Outsiders are also accepted into the group through blood brotherhood and adoption of Pala'wan customs.

Pala'wan are shifting cultivators. At all stages of cultivation, men perform rituals for various environmental beings. Pala'wan are pagans. Their belief system is vague with simple rituals. All their socio-economic activities are linked with religion and all religious

activities are either curative or preventive, and a ceremony is celebrated at all agricultural and social activities. Another significant factor about the Pala'wan religion is it is socialized. Religion brings the group together and provides them with social activities such as drinking rice wine (tabad), singing and dancing. Gongs and drums supplement the music to sing and dance. In one word, Pala'wan religion is so much socialized that they do not have any other type of dancing and beating of drums and gongs other than religious ones.

In one way Pala'wan are monotheists. They believe in one God *Ampo*, who resides in heaven,—*Guna*. *Ampo* is represented on earth by *Diwa'ta*, who is the link between the god and the Pala'wan, and all rituals are addressed and performed through Him. Both *Ampo* and *Diwa'ta* are neither male nor female and they are single. The major difference between the two are — the latter stays on earth to help the man. But he cannot watch or see the difficulties and faults of man like the *Ampo*, who can do this from the heaven. Secondly, only *Ampo* has the ritual productivity, whereas *Diwa'ta* is only a media to attain this.

Pala'wan ritual calendar is structured according to cosmic cycle. They celebrate *Pag-Diwa'ta* or the *Diwa'ta* ceremony, on every full-moon and new-moon day. These are the celebrations for the good of the community. The whole community will contribute and participate in it. Other than these regular *Diwata* ceremonies the community or even a kin- group may celebrate the ceremony for curative or preventive purposes. The participation and contribution are made themselves on such private celebrations and outsiders attend only on special invitation.

If the ritual is a regular one the native wine will be ready in big jars. The priest drinks and dances first. He will be followed by others. Women only dance and do not participate in drinking. Dancing and drinking goes on till late in the night; some times they depart when the wine is finished or one of the participants faints or starts vomiting.

Pala'wan believe in three worlds — heaven (*guna*), earth and hell (*kalubagang*). They do not have any further and complicated information about the hell or heaven, except that the hell is a dark place without fire, where one has to work and lead a hard life. And in the heaven one need not work and it is bright, clean and God lives in the heaven.

Pala'wan do not believe in the (1) transmigration of soul, (2) merit in life and (3) sin. They believe in the existence of three major souls and five minor souls and all the eight exist in man at one time. Soon after the death one of the major souls—*Manyagang kurudwa*, directly goes to hell to undergo punishment for the bad acts. Another *Nakam*, goes to the heaven to enjoy the fruits of his good deeds in life, and the third— *Marahatna kurudwa*, stays on earth and decays

with the body. The five minor souls reside one in each of the five sensory organs of man. This fact is the source of Pala'wan moral life.

Pala'wan belief in three souls, confidence given in life by the fact that there is no rebirth and the presence of Diwa'ta on earth have made them confined to the present than to the past or future. To a Pala'wan a moral person is one who follows all Pala'wan customs with least violation. To be known as a man of 'good custom' one must respect custom law, which according to Pala'wan is surrendering of individual rights to the group, accept group control on the individual and impersonalize all activities. So we can see all these qualities—a good man, a moral man and a social man, are incorporated into one, whom Pala'wan call a religious man'. In this way the religion and the society among the Pala'wan are interlinked.

Without the fear of rebirth among the Pala'wan, an outsider may think, that, the Pala'wan would not care for bad activities. But their belief in three major souls and five minor souls is a check on them, from becoming immoral. The aspiration to go to heaven keeps a Pala'wan always conscious about the moral life. The belief that the soul going to the hell and the presence of minor souls in each of the sensory organs of the person will prevent the Pala'wan from doing immoral acts. The belief in the third soul and its stay on earth along with the dead has given rise to the custom of ancestral worship and respect for the past generations. This is clearly evident from their counting of ancestors up to four and more generations and respect for the group of elders (panglima).

### **Social Organization:**

Pala'wan society is bilateral with neolocal residence. Monogamy is the order. But polygamy is also practiced due to many reasons such as—sterility in case of wife (religious and social function), additional helping hand to the family (economic function), etc. Elementary or nuclear family is the basic unit of the kinship organization. Taking nuclear family as the basic unit or a starting point we can study Pala'wan society in five different levels—potential family of husband and wife, elementary family of father, mother and unmarried children; bilateral family of relatives from both parents; the village, a unit of matrilocality and village rituals; and a sort of "state", which includes all those who belong to and follow Pala'wan culture.

### **Marriage:**

Among the Pala'wan, marriage is the most simple ceremony. Arranged marriages are common. Marriage starts with the expression



of the boy's desire to his parents, to marry a certain girl. Both the parents and grandparents study his request to avoid incest, and the possible socio-economic gains to the family. If they find it suitable, a common friend of both the families is requested to act as a go-between (padunka). The go-between arrives at the girl's residence and conveys his mission to the girl's parents. As a custom, he will be asked to visit them again after three days; and he returns. Within this interval of two days the girl's parents also study this proposal with their relatives, and also ask the opinion of the girl, as women enjoy immense freedom in this bilateral society. With the approval of all, the girl's father visits the residence of the boy along with the go-between and expresses their approval of the proposal; and invites them to the marriage which will be held at the girl's residence on the next day. The following day the groom, his parents and relatives and the go-between, arrive at the girl's residence with their marriage gift or fee (unsud), usually a porcelain plate. Before the actual ceremony takes place the marriage conditions, if any, will be settled and the fee will be paid. The go-between, will be always an elderly person, acts both as the priest and witness for the occasion and advises the newly wed to be faithful to each other and blesses them for a blissful life.

On marriage the boy stays with the girl's parents and works for them. With the birth of a child and with the permission of the parents-in-law, he will establish a separate household.

The process is the same in taking a second wife (dulu-utak). The husband asks the permission of his first wife to take another. She takes the advise and consent of her parents and kinsmen. Her parents and kinsmen think about the pros and cons of his request before giving their consent. It is because, if they give the permission, thereafter, they will lose their sole right on him. If they do not give it means this might result in a divorce. Generally, they approve this request due to several factors. Firstly, among the Pala'wan, providing food and shelter to one wife and children from her itself is a difficult task. If a person is aspiring for another wife means, he is capable of providing for all. Secondly, they also know that any refusal will not bar their son-in-law from taking a second wife. He might go ahead without considering the consequences, such as divorce or fine. So they accept certain amount of damage in advance, which is nominal, and permit him.

If the reason to take another wife is purely to increase the productive labour in the family, then the first spouse's parents will try to avoid the conflict by giving one of her younger sisters or a cousin. By this they retain the familial authority on the man. The son-in-law will also accept such a proposal readily because this will reduce his additional burden of another set of in-laws. In all these cases the first

wife will permit her husband to take a second wife. From this she gets the damage and in addition one helping hand in the family to do domestic and agricultural work.

**Family:**

Among the Pala'wan the newly-wed couple continues to stay with the girl's parents till they get a child. Therefore, there is no potential family among the Pala'wan. When a daughter marries, the Pala'wan family automatically becomes a vertically extended family. After having a child and establishing a household there will be a new elementary family and the vertically extended family shrinks back to an elementary family if there are any children. Among the Pala'wan it is also possible that two or more daughters who are already married but childless, will continue to live with their parents along with their husbands forming a laterally as well as vertically extended family. In such cases the parental family remains an extended family, till their daughters establish their separate households. But a family may constitute a husband and wife under two circumstances—either with the death of the child after establishing a separate household or due to going away of all their daughters. These two situations will not characterize exactly the composition of a potential family, because the old couple has already passed the productive stage and the young already have children.

Only after having a child, a couple, is expected to establish their household. This must be proximate to that of the girl's parents. But there is no rule that one should follow his parents-in-law, whenever they shift from one settlement to another. But the couple who are still living with their parents will follow them because they are not yet a separate household. Under special circumstances even after establishing a separate household a girl can go back to live with her parents along with her husband and children.

**Inheritance:**

The notion of property among the Pala'wan, is vague. Pala'wan do not consider land and the houses as real property and the posseser only will get the right to use them. The real property are the gongs, jars and the metal betel-nut containers; which are handed from one generation to the other. If the parents have extra 'property' of the above mentioned type, they will give a portion of it to their sons and daughters as a gift, during their marriage, and not as a share. This, they cannot take it 'away' as long as they stay with their in-laws.

Divorce naturally dissolves the marriage and the potential family, The causes for the divorce are many, such as adultery, kidnapping the wife, sterility, etc. When a childless couple agrees to the divorce.

naturally they divide their common property into two equal halves. If the divorce is sought as a solution to the overt action of a spouse, that person will lose his or her right for the common property. If the couple already have children the matter becomes rather difficult as they have to provide the means for the children's subsistence. So the group of elders always try to solve such cases by levying fine on the culprit and paying this amount to the other as compensation.

If the spouse dies without children, the common property will be divided into two halves and one half will be given back to the nearest consanguinal kinsmen of the deceased spouse and the other half is naturally taken by the survivor. If the couple has a child, both consanguinal and conjugal property of its parents goes to the child. The surviving spouse gets only the right to enjoy it. If the surviving person marries again his or her new spouse and children born from this new union will not get any right on the common property of the first union.

#### **Bilateral Kinship Organization:**

A marriage among the Pala'wan is an alliance of two kingroups and not of two individuals. But this union will not become fused or effective until the couple gets a child. A child will equally represent the consanguinal kingroup or the bilateral family of its parents, its four grandparents and all the kinsmen to the extent of eight generations and their descendents. Pala'wan kinship holds eight generation—four upwards and four downwards. So marriages of third degree cousins is prohibited.

A bilateral family of both sex and up to four generations, forms a ritual unit and they also maintain a separate juridical unit. Family members of the consanguinal kingroup (of third degree) will be under an obligation to invite their kin to all celebrations and also to inform them about the significant matters of their personal families such as birth, marriage and death. The additions and omissions of the kin group are counted from the point of inheritance of ancestral property.

In case of serious incidents in the kinship, the immediate consanguinal relatives will be directly and automatically involved. Mutual help among them is obligatory. A consanguinal kinred has a right to ask for help from his relatives in paying heavy fines laid on him or her. When the divorce problem is on trial, the nearest blood relatives support their kin and try to disprove the charges. When the offence is proved and a heavy fine is levied they try hard to minimise it. If a person is killed by another group the surviving kinsmen avenge the death. The Pala'wan value for their kin's life is great. They enquire in detail into the causes of death to know whether the surviving spouse has any hands in it.



Another obligation among the nearer consanguinal kinreds is to play the role of jural leaders in inter-familial conflicts. They also act as marriage go-betweens which has a prominent and so important place among the Pala'wan since he can reduce the marriage fee and relax the marriage conditions.

### Analysis of Pala'wan Kin-Terminology:

Though Pala'wan kinship organization includes bilateral families eight generations each, the terminology is simple. This is due to the use of collateral terms to address consanguinal kins. Pala'wan also ignore sex and generations in their terminology. Other significant features are the avoidance of names and making sex identifications while addressing an affinal kin of opposit sex, who belongs to the ego's generation.

Sons and daughters, irrespective of their order of birth, are addressed *yegang*. To show sex differentiation, *ne-lalake* for the boys and *ne-liban* for the girls, is used. Status of the eldest child is also shown in the terminology. An eldest son is referred as *uka-ne-lalake* and the girl—*uka-ne-libal*. Similarly, the youngest son is referred as *ari-ne-lalake* and the girl—*ari-ne-liban*. An elderly child addresses his or her younger sibling by the term *ari*. The younger sibling use *uka*, to address any older sibling, irrespective of sex and order of birth.

Brothers-in-law, wife's brothers or sisters' husbands are addressed as *bayao*, irrespective of their age. So does the sisters-in-law. But a different term—*lpag*, is used to address an in-law of opposit sex. This is an example of an instance which indicates speakers sex. Cousins, irrespective of their sex and order of birth address each other *agsa*. For reference a female cousin is called *agsa-ne-libon* and a male cousin is called *agsa-ne-lalake*.

All the four grandparents—FF, MF, FM, and MM are addressed as *opo*. Sex distinction is shown while referring, by adding *ne-libon* for the grandmother and *ne-lalake* for the grandfather. *Opo*, is also used by the grandparents to address their grandchildren irrespective of their sex and order of birth. In this case both the sex and the generation are ignored. This is quite common among the Pala'wan kin-terminology in addressing second ascending and descending generations. This according to Murdock (1949:103), is due to biological status of the persons – grandparents and grandchildren, who are much too apart in generational distance.

Pala'wan use a common term *nampil* to all children-in-law. But a special character of these kinship terms is, to show sex differentiation the terms such as *libon* and *lalake*, are added. But while mentioned in third person the person is referred as the spouse of so-and-so.

Another collateral term *kumanakan* is used for the children (of both sex) of siblings of both sex. *Maman* is used to address all types of aunts, either paternal or maternal. Step father is also addressed as *maman* and, step mother as *minan*. But a term *negkesubli* is used for reference. Similarly a common referential term *nesublian* is used to refer step children of both sex. Another word *basis* is used to address one's children-in-law's parents. All the four persons, irrespective of age and sex, address each other with this term. There is no descriptive term for these kinsmen. But while referring to a third person, he is referred as the father of so-and-so's spouse.

### Wider Pala'wan Social Organization:

Pala'wan do not have any other well organized social group which is wider than that of the bilateral kindred group. But a Pala'wan settlement can be considered a 'community' though the settlement pattern is scattered. Because it shows community sentiment and inter-relations such as celebration of pag-Diwa'ta, drink parties, etc., which are all communal affairs.

Next to the settlement Pala'wan have a loose social organization, by area, where the group lives. Outwardly, this appears like a political or a tribal division. But it is not, because it lacks many things such as common customs, a chief, etc. The Pala'wan divides the area of their settlement into four divisions, a geographical factor linked with the native value judgement. They are—(a) *Tao'dagot*, area nearest to the coast, (b) *napan*, next to it, (c) *daya*, and finally (d) *bukid*, the area in the interior most portion of the forest or the mountain. According to the Pala'wan cultural value, the people who are living near the coast are immoral and are considered as 'people with bad customs'. The basis for this is the Pala'wan belief that a moral and a good Pala'wan is one who lives away from outside world, deep in the forest, securing food according to the Pala'wan means and performing various rituals towards environmental spirits. But a Pala'wan who lives near the coast usually comes in contact with the outsiders, eat fish, does not follow Pala'wan customs closely, and so, considered as low. The status of the settlement increases or decreases with the distance from the coast. To explain this the Pala'wan give an example of a river taking its birth in a mountain flowing down to the sea and as it nears the sea it flows dirty water. So also the people become 'morally dirty' as they go near the coast.

This distinction among the Pala'wan settlement can be noticed in their marriage practices. A *tao'dagat* Pala'wan who wants to marry a girl from any of the groups living above his group, has to pay a very high marriage fee. Contrary to this giving a daughter to a person

belonging to a group which stays upwards is generally preferred by those who have settled near the coasts. Pala'wan have different words for these two ways of marriage — down stream (*balong*) and upstream (*sulek*). The marriage fee increases with an increase in the distance between the two groups and it will be very high if the marriage takes place between the persons of two polar groups.

The Pala'wan lack a still larger social organization which includes all the above mentioned types of settlements. They always recognize the strangers on the basis of the cultural differentiation. They always look in him for the possible Pala'wan cultural traits. Those who do not have similar traits are considered as 'outsiders' and all those who show identical cultural traits as 'their men'. The basic traits for a formulation of a Pala'wan community is cultural similarity. Only in this sense one can see all Pala'wan considering themselves as one group. But this group identity is just sentimental and is not expressed or shown in the form of a wider organization — a tribe.

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# A CRITIQUE OF THE METHOD IN GERMAN-AUSTRIAN HISTORICAL ETHNOLOGY

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## I

Culture is the key concept of anthropology. Kroeber calls it "our most distinctive field...around which we can best organize our data" (1953:362). The editors of the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (1931) considered the technical usage of the term 'culture' as the greatest theoretical advance of the present century. They gave due credit to anthropology for this crowning achievement. Kroeber voices the opinion of the anthropologists in general when he says that "we can (not) claim to be the original discoverers of it; but we have assiduously cultivated the discovery, exploited it, stayed with it, and began to utilize it as our first and biggest organizing principle" (1953: 362).

Culture can be studied for various intents and purposes. In contemporary Social-Cultural Anthropology the accent seems to be on the study of extant cultures. But in such branches of anthropology as Prehistory and Archaeology, Ethnology and Culture History, the interest centres around the study of growth of particular cultures as well as that of total human culture. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the 'classical' evolutionist sat in his 'armchair' to reconstruct culture growth using travellers', missionaries' and administrators' accounts of the contemporary savages. We know quite well today where did he go wrong. But we cannot deny these pioneers the credit of having established the importance of evolution as a process of culture growth.

As "the organization of new cultural material or new cultural organization" (Kroeber 1931) invention is the most creative factor in culture history. In contrast, diffusion does not in itself produce new cultural content. It is concerned with the growth as well as the preservation of human culture. Kroeber defines diffusion as "the process, usually but not necessarily gradual, by which an invention or a new institution adopted in one place is adopted in neighbouring areas and in some cases continues to be adopted in adjacent ones until it may spread over the whole earth" (1931:139). Defined thus diffusion is a process through which cultural materials are transmitted from one population to another if the two reside in contiguous regions. In diffusion the spread of a cultural item may be rapid or slow, it

is not sporadic. It is primarily spatial though it has a temporal dimension as well.

Enough attention has not been paid to "the mechanism of the spread of culture *per se* or because diffusions have been studied less from an interest in them than as a means by which historical events may be reconstructed or origins determined" (Kroeber 1931:140). The important task of conservation which diffusion performs has either been underestimated or undermined. Following Kroeber, we shall mean by diffusionism the theory or theories of development of culture which especially emphasize(s) the factor of diffusion. The important point here is the stress laid on diffusion by its protagonists, because no diffusionist denies origin or invention at some stage.

## II

In the early decades of the present century a prominent diffusionist movement came to be known as heliocentric or Egyptologist thesis. Its locus was Great Britain and its chief advocate was the great anatomist G. Elliot Smith. Its inherent weakness, lack of dynamism and the onslaught of Malinowskian functionalism brought an early end to it. In contrast, the German-Austrian Culture Historical School is still very much alive.

Friedrich Ratzel was among the earliest to emphasize the importance of cultural contacts. His *Volkerkunde* is regarded as a source book of diffusionism. Heine-Geldern says that "Ratzel, by introducing new ideas, ended the stagnation which had prevailed in Germany for almost three decennia" (1964:411). One of these new ideas was the univentionness of mankind. Ratzel also opined that diffusion could be worked out even without a continuous or traceable distribution. One of his followers, Leo Frobenius, developed the idea of *Kulturkreise* for the first time. In his book *Der Ursprung der afrikanischen Kulturen* published in 1898 he talked of the existence of a Malayo-Nigritian *kulturkreis* in West Africa (cp. Heine-Geldern 1964:411). Herskovits (1948) and Lowie (1937) seem to attribute the concept of *Kulturkreise* to Graebner. It is true that Fritz Graebner presented a paper entitled 'Kulturkreise and Kulturschichten in Ozeanien' in 1904, the year in which Bernhard Ankermann also wrote on 'Kulturkreise und Kulturschichten in Afrika'. Since these papers became very famous one might think that it was Graebner, and not Frobenius, who used the term *Kulturkreis* first.

Between themselves, Ratzel and Frobenius also devised the criteria of form and quantity (Cp. Lowie 1937; Penniman 1952). If two objects agree in form, and, this agreement is not due to the nature, material and purpose of the objects, then irrespective of their being

widely separated in space, one may infer historical connection between the two cultures because one of the objects must be borrowed from the other. This is the criterion of form. According to the criterion of quantity, if two different cultures show agreements in a number of cultural items, then, one can infer connection between the two.

Fritz Graebner was originally a historian who got interested in establishing historical sequences for the study of so-called ahistorical people for whom there were neither prehistoric sequences nor written documents. He utilized essentially the same method as Frobenius, but he became famous as the methodologist of the *Schule*. His *Methode der Ethnologie* (1911) has served as a guide-book for the methodology of the *Kulturhistorische Schule*. Observing various cultures as local phenomena only would not interest Graebner. Like Ratzel, he wanted to establish 'the temporal and causal relationships' existing between them. The basic problem is how to determine cultural connection. Similarities in two cultures may be due to a psychology common to mankind (i. e., independent evolution) or else from the convergence of originally distinct phenomena. According to Graebner both these contentions are methodologically inferior to 'the principle of historical connection'. The number of independent parallel developments are exceedingly small and "the origin of numerous cultural forms is conditioned by the meeting and interaction of various cultural phenomena" (Graebner 1931:421). He is quite sure that migrations bring about meeting of cultures and emergence of individual cultural elements as well as culture complexes. The complete, or nearly complete, appearance of identical cultures in widely separated localities cannot be imagined without migrations which are traceable. Graebner asks us to safely assume that "the more complete the reappearance of a cultural complex in another locality, the less credible appears its transfer without migrations" (1931:422). One of the cardinal points of Graebner's ethnological philosophy is that "the diffusion of isolated cultural elements—even of myths—is impossible" (Lowie 1912:24).

Two main elements of Graebner's *Methode* are *kulturkreis* (culture circle) and *ferninterpretation* (interpretation of borrowing in spite of distance). He assumed that primaeval man lived in small and isolated groups somewhere in Asia. Certain distinct *Kulturkreise* developed in such an isolation. Migrations took place when conditions were more favourable and better transportation facilities were available. As a result total complexes, rather than single elements, spread in four quarters of the globe. A *kries* is not a geographical sphere or an area of culture. It is a cultural type or a block of cultural material. Each *kulturkreis*, as Kroeber aptly put it, "at one time in the past is assumed to have existed as a discrete, internally uniform



culture, presumably of independent origin, in one part of the world and then to have diffused essentially as a unit" (1931:141). Graebner postulated that the *kulturkreise* (culture circles) originated successively in time as well as progressively in the degree of advancement or complexity. Each culture circle has spread more or less over the whole world and is represented in all cultures, mixed up in varying proportions. An important task of Graebnerian ethnology is to find out the elements derived from the several *kulturkreise* which constitute a particular culture. Many German-speaking ethnologists, including Heine-Geldern, say that they reject Graebner's culture circles. We shall shortly examine whether they have really repudiated this and the finer points of Graebner's methodology.

An attempt to limit cultural connections between contiguous areas was called *Raumfurcht* (timidity with regard to space) by Graebner. His *ferninterpretation* principle ignores factors of time and distance. The criteria of form and quantity are used by him as proofs of a far-reaching connection between the Old World and New World cultures. The underlying principle is simple. When cultures of two different groups show similarities their having been derived from a single source can be worked out on how numerous (criterion of quantity) and how complex (criterion of form) the similarities are. Alternative explanations of similarities in cultures located in far-flung areas are rejected by Graebner in these words: "The supposed lack of continuity between two areas may prove deceptive. There may be found cultural features bridging the geographical gap between the areas comparep (continuity-criterion); and there may be such a diffusion of cultural elements that geographical proximity varies directly with the degree of cultural relationship (criterion of form-variation), a result manifestly not be expected on the theory of independent evolution of parallel forms" (quoted in Lowie 1912:25). Lowie (1912) has mentioned some excellent cases where Graebner's form-criterion totally fails. There is no need to go into it here.

In a paper published in the mid-thirties Clyde Kulckhohn found evidence of the robustness of the *Kulturkreislehre* (Kluckhohn 1936). According to him its virility was demonstrated by "Pinard de Boullaye in comparative religion, by Menghin, Heine-Geldern and Kern in prehistory, by Lebzelter in physical anthropology... (and)... hypotheses arising out of the application of its concept (for example, the Mon-Khmer theory of Schmidt and the related archaeological reconstructions in Southeast Asia by Heine-Geldern) have stimulated fruitful lines of research by those in no sense committed to the *Kulturkreislehre*" (1936:159).

Wilhelm Schmidt and Wilhelm Koppers were the recognized representatives of the Vienna School, but Kluckhohn selected Van

Bulck as its main spokesman. It is interesting that in a recent article on 'one hundred years of ethnological theory in the German-speaking countries: some milestones' Heine-Geldern (1964) does not mention Van Bulck's name even in passing. Any way, Van Bulck accepts *Kulturkreis* as the key concept and pleads for sorting out culture circles in light of the data provided by archaeology, linguistics, physical anthropology and documentary history. Like Graebner, he thinks that the basic task of ethnology is to work out cultural connections. A cultural phenomenon can be understood, not simply in the context of its presentday setting, through 'the ideologies of these cultural groups in which it evolved'. A related aim of ethnology is to make known 'the spatial and chronological antecedents of the known presence of a given cultural fact at a particular time in a particular place'. Van Bulck thinks further that culture history is not a sequence of static culture strata or culture epochs which follow upon one another but the dynamic development of culture process is its constant factor. Kluckhohn tells us of Van Bulck's emphatic assertion that "working through the material relating to even a rather small area in critical and exact fashion takes a great deal of time so that the ethnologist must not expect to jump from one region to another in the turn of a hand. But eventually the data from neighbouring regions must be treated similarly" (1936:160). It will be clear from the present analysis that the German-speaking ethnologists have not heeded Van Bulck's advice otherwise they would not advocate the use of criteria of form and quantity for far-flung cultural connections.

Father Schmidt was at first a severe critic of Graebner's. But his *The Culture Historical Method of Ethnology* (1939) reveals that later on he came much closer to the Graebner line. For the establishment of cultural relations he advocates the criterion of quality or form, the criterion of quantity, and the auxiliary criteria of continuity, degree of relationship and the concurrence of various criteria. *Kulturkreise* (culture circles) are the basic unit of his study. In his book he is found to be engaged with such problems: complete picture of the culture circle; the oldest culture circles; the determination of the age of an isolated culture circle; original home of the culture circles, etc. All this is typically Graebnerian. But Schmidt shows his dissatisfaction with 'insufficient appreciation of scientific psychology by Graebner'. To him ethnology is 'a science of mind, of spatial and temporal relations'. The final and highest goal of any science, he holds, is to establish causes. But without the establishment of chronology real research into causes is 'unthinkable'. By this he means "the chronology of those epochs of the history of mankind, the investigation of mankind, the investigation of which is the task of ethnology and ethnology alone; namely, the times before written history" (1939: 245-

46). Herskovits (1948) opines that his concepts of 'external' and 'internal' causality are mystical. But his principle of empathy is still more interesting. He tells us that empathy is 'a mental state in which one identifies or feels himself in the same state of mind as another person or group'. According to him, empathy enables a field worker to psychologically experience events depicted, to live the life himself and to feel one with a foreign people in space and time. Father Schmidt considered the pygmies as representing the primaeval stage of human experience. He thought that by studying the different aspects of the pygmy culture as it existed today one could recover the primitive 'stratum of human experience'.

### III

Writing in the fifties Koppers advised his readers to separate Graebner's 'general historical outlook and method from the special theory of *kulturkreise* (culture circles)'. This may lead one to believe that one has broken away from the Graebner-Schmidt tradition. In 1951 he had opined that culture cycles and strata "were a kind of summary of the ethnological knowledge of that day" (1951:25). He also approved Graebner's attempt to justify them by the use of quantitative criterion. The starting point for 'historically directed ethnology' are the cultural parallels, i. e. to seek identical or similar cultural phenomena in the different parts of the world. He concurs with Graebner that there is "no logical need to limit culture contacts to adjoining territories" (Koppers 1951:15).

Like other German-speaking ethnologists, Koppers also considers the study of correlations as most fundamental. Where no absolute chronology of 'true relation' can be established, the proof depends upon "the degree of conformity and the number of parallel traits, i. e. on the "criteria of form and of quantity" (Koppers 1956:171). There should be no doubt that, like other German-Austrian diffusionists, by qualitative criterium, Koppers means "a formal resemblance neither inherent in the nature of the phenomena compared nor due to geographical causes". In the quantitative criterium "the chance association of a whole series of elements in two or more different regions is noted" (Koppers 1951:24). He seems to be still fighting the imaginary demons of evolutionism and the psychic unity of mankind. He has not abandoned even the idea of inherent uninventiveness of mankind. He quotes McCarthy with approval when the latter says that "invention, as such, is not a feature of aboriginal culture" (Koppers 1956:174). In 1956 Koppers announced that *Kulturkreise* "have been abandoned for quite some time". If it was really so he would not have only five years earlier said that what ethnologists "can attempt



and to a certain extent achieve, is to determine within which culture complex certain elements originated" (1951:35).

Robert von Heine-Geldern started a discussion of the 'recent developments in ethnological theory of Europe' in 1956 with "a *post mortem*, that of the *Kulturkreis* doctrine". He tells us that in the heyday of that doctrine he had opposed that and had never subscribed to the view (Heine-Geldern 1960a:49). It will be pertinent to examine the main arguments of his paper on 'the Asiatic origin of South American metallurgy' because Koppers thinks it "will prove a landmark in research on Old and New World cultural relations and on the problem of diffusion in general" (1956:179). Heine-Geldern finds similarities between some metal forms of Caucasus and Hellstatt culture and those from South America. The direct borrowing of the latter from the former is difficult to establish hence Heine-Geldern suggests an intermediate Asian zone. He suggests that the metal forms were taken from Asia to South America through trans-Pacific migration(s). But before it a Pontic migration, in a rather short period, to east Asia must have brought the items concerned from their European home. A rather intriguing situation is created by the discovery that many Caucasian metal forms, found in South America, are conspicuous by their absence from east Asia and some of those found there cannot be located in South America. Heine-Geldern has this to say: "This is no cause for surprise. The Dongson culture is as yet very imperfectly known" (1954:3). Moreover, "the lack of metal forms in the Far East comparable to those from the Caucasus and South America discussed in this paper does not mean anything. We can assume *mit gutem Recht* that they are there and with further systematic investigation will be brought to light" (Heine-Geldern 1954:3-4). Koppers should have no difficulty in saying with us that 'this is not sound methodology'. We are ready to wait till we know more about the Dongson culture. Until then, to borrow a phrase from Koppers, 'the only logical conclusion is: *non liquet*'.

Another aspect of Heine-Geldern's method clearly indicates that he has adopted the Graebnerian line of thought. In his comparison of Asiatic and South American metallurgical forms, Heine-Geldern makes use of the finds from a huge area extending to Inner Mongolia, China, former French Indo-China and Indonesia. He says that he is aware of the dangers in selecting single finds from such a big area. But he has proposed a deceptively simple solution to the problem in suggesting that "these forms originally came from a single comparatively small region, the Caucasus". In spite of all beating around the bush, the nub of Heine-Geldern's position, put in his own words, is that "however scattered they may appear, culture-historically they form more or less closed complex" (1954:4). One can hardly fail to

see that Heine-Geldern's conceptualization is grounded on Graebner's twin concepts of *Kulturkreis* and *Ferninterpretation* though he has scrupulously avoided using these terms. As mentioned earlier, according to Kroeber, *Kulturkreise* were cultural types or blocks of cultural material, each of which were supposed to have originated independently in some part of the world, existed as a discrete and internally uniform culture, and then diffused essentially as a unit. This description covers Heine-Geldern's treatment of the metal forms in the paper mentioned and discussed above.

At least one member of the Vienna School Josef Haekel—seems to have rejected the concept of *Kulturkreis*, both in theory and in practice. Discussing the cultural stratification of Brazil he questions "whether the *kulturkreise* as hitherto defined, have ever really existed". He is aware that 'some cultures are very conservative, in regard to certain elements, while others are not'. While actually the 'span of life' of cultural elements can show great variation, the original concept of the *kulturkreis* is based on the assumption of "a prolonged persistence of cultural elements and phenomena, which embrace all essential parts of cultural life" (quoted in Furer-Haimendorf 1956:155). Haekel further suggests that the culture-complexes in different parts of the world, which look superficially similar, may have come into being through an accidental accumulation of the constituent culture-elements at distinct times. He feels that such apparently analogous culture-complexes may never have belonged to an originally homogeneous *kreis*. He openly asks us to abandon, even as a working hypothesis, the *kulturkreise* which Father Schmidt postulated on the basis of apparent similarities with Oceanic cultures. How different is he from his other colleagues becomes apparent from his following statement: "The possibility of an Old World origin of specific cultural elements and institutions must always be kept in mind. . . . 'mass immigrations' of Old World populations across the Pacific, however, must be excluded. Thus I see great difficulties in the way of the assumption that whole '*Kulturkreise*' should have entered South America by way of the Pacific" (quoted in Furer-Haimendorf 1956:155).

Discussing 'the spiritual life of simple food-gathers and hunters' in a recent article Professor Haekel says that foreign elements entered their spiritual culture due to influence in some form or other by culturally advanced peoples. But he cautions that "one must ask oneself whether the foreign elements that were taken over have produced a deep change in structure or represent additions or enrichments only" (Haekel 1969:139). Anthropologists in non-German-speaking countries will not have any difficulty in agreeing with Haekel's judicious conclusions that the 'spiritual life' of the simple food-gathers and hunters "may by no means be regarded as a faithful mirror-image

of the realities of earlier prehistoric epochs of mankind.....  
 (and) Loyalty to tradition and readiness to change form at all times the course of culture history in its ambivalent fluctuations” (1969:158–59).

In general, the ethnologists of the Vienna School are much averse to convergence and independent development. For instance, in 1954 Heine-Geldern stated that “it is in the highest degree improbable that the same series of discoveries were made in both Old and New Worlds, still more so when it comes to bronze” (Heine-Geldern 1954: 7). In 1960 he said that the “conception of numerous parallel developments has long since sunk into the grave of obsolete theories” (1960b: 277). Koppers says that diffusion is not all and yet accepts that “diffusion will not suffice to explain every historical development” (1956:178). But he also says that whenever cultural parallels “do not yet fully suffice to prove the existence to genuine relation, premature conclusions as to independent origin are nevertheless inadmissible. In general we simply have to leave the question undecided” (1956:179).

Six decades earlier Lowie conceded that the knowledge of the most of the determining conditions of an ethnological phenomenon was very difficult. Often “morphological identity may give presumptive, not conclusive, evidence of genetic relationship” (Lowie 1912:41). He warned, therefore, against the identification of apparent homologues as historical connections in the cultures of the tribes not known to be historically related. “It is conceivable”, he further wrote, “that *if* we could determine the history of the South American paddles, which Graebner connects with Indonesian and Melanesian patterns, we should find them to be genetically related; but we cannot bar the other logical possibility of independent origin, for it is likewise conceivable that each of the homologous features of the paddles originated from distinct motives and distinct conditions” (1912:41).

Lowie has formulated the rules on which cultural connections are to be judged in these words: “The first question we must ask is, not how the trait could have travelled from one region to another, nor even whether it could have originated independently through the psychic unity of mankind. Our first duty is rather to ascertain whether the resemblances are superficial or fundamental.... Psychic unity would only explain why in, but, two particular areas, this variation should lead to a marked social institution. Neither can historical connection be postulated in the absence of title of evidence for either genetic relationship or transmission. The advocate of convergence in the sense here proposed will simply await a fuller determination of the facts. If closer investigation should establish an absolute identity, the fact of identity would stand, but would stand unexplained” (1912:39).



## IV

Heine-Geldern says that the ethnologists of Vienna School do not 'wish to sit in an ivory tower'. It is difficult to accept that they have been really keeping 'their minds open to other ways of approach than that of history', the latter in the sense they understand it. It is good to know that some of their best students have gone to London 'in order to acquaint themselves with the methods of British social anthropologists'. They also accept now that "other aspects and ways of thinking as they have... come to be expressed in structural research, functionalism, integration, culture pattern, culture and personality and acculturation....[are not] unjustified or superfluous in and for themselves" (Koppers 1968:32). In spite of it it is hard to agree with Heine-Geldern when he says that "in general continental ethnologists admit that the British social anthropologists' methods are not incompatible with their own predominantly *historical approach*. They feel that the two methods are rather complimentary" (1960a:50; italics supplied). Koppers opines that the German-speaking ethnologists have done as good field work as those trained in functionalism.

Now, a few words about Heine-Geldern's claim that the Vienna School of Ethnology has been perhaps "more consistently than others trying to perfect the methods of historical ethnology and to carry its principles through to their logical goal" (1960a:52). After A. L. Ferder, Koppers defines history as "the knowledge of the socially important developments in the world of man and their evolution" (1956:169). He makes some interesting deductions. Man has been human from the very beginning. History, 'in its widest meaning', encompasses the entire period from the beginning of human existence to the present day. Diffusion has been operating since the earliest times. Therefore, diffusion is fundamental to ethnology and pre-history. These two disciplines do not have written sources to fall back upon. So they are forced "to rely on the comparative study of cultural traits for the purposes of establishing the areal, chronological and causal factors" (Koppers 1956:178). Koppers also hopes to offer 'a new approach to universal history' by the 'historical' way of seeing things and the corresponding method applied for this purpose. If and when the Vienna School scholars accomplish this task it will be interesting to compare their approach and their conclusions with those of Spengler's in his *Decline of the West*, Toynbee's in his *The Study of History* and Kroeber's in his *The Configurations of Culture Growth*. At present some of their assumptions seem to be unacceptable.

These 'historical' ethnologists talk of elucidating 'genetic relationships' and casual interdependence' through the so-called 'cultural objects'. These and the basic concept of *Schichten* (layers or strata) are borrowed from the natural sciences and not from history. This point was conceded even by Kluckhohn (1936) who was once sympathetic to this school of ethnology. Moreover, these scholars do not realize that the nature of the materials dealt with by history and 'historical ethnology' lead to two different types of inferences and conclusions. In his *Prelude to History* Adrian Coates, a philosopher-historian, suggests the following three main divisions of the historical vista: the Modern Age of printed books; the Pre-Modern Age of written records; and, the Prehistoric Age of oral tradition. He is tempted to use the term 'history' for the vista of humanity as a whole. But he desists from doing so because he feels that the distinction between history (as recorded in written documents and in the stricter sense of the term) and the 'prehistorical' is "a real and important one, since it marks a main step of descent in our knowledge of the past, and of ourselves". Unfortunately, this important point escapes the German-speaking ethnologists. The contemporary non-literates do not possess documents recording their past. All anthropologists, not excluding our German-speaking colleagues, need to ponder over the following remarks of Adrian Coates: "As we proceed from personal agency of human groups and cultures to causal succession in general terms, so we descend the scale of being and knowledge; and this descent corresponds with the diminishing perspective of the historical vista: that is to say, where our knowledge is fullest, all types of narrative and explanation may be used; but as our knowledge decreases, so the higher categories become less applicable, and we finally pass from the context of history to that of the sciences, from Man the measure of all things to the Nature which he measures" (Coates 1951:12).

Koppers has an intriguing way of linking the contemporary primitives with the primordial man, and, thus ethnology with pre-history. He rejects the doctrine of psychic unity of mankind. Like Ratzel, he believes in the fundamental unity of all human culture. According to him culture is less fluid than race and primitive culture in particular is supposed to be extremely stable. So "what is to prevent our assuming that Old Palaeolithic man could also continue in this stage indefinitely?" (Koppers 1951:30). He draws parallels between the contemporary primitive cultures and those of the prehistoric man because in his opinion "the historical ethnologist feels *instinctively* that many of these elements derive from the Old Palaeolithic" (1951: 29; italics supplied). What a contrast from Hackel's comment quoted earlier in this paper!

Both Heine-Geldern and Koppers cite Margaret T. Hodgen's book *Change and History*. In this book Hodgen has demonstrated the role of diffusion in the building up of the British culture. But Koppers rejects her contention that definite conclusions about the role of diffusion and acculturation in prehistoric times cannot be arrived at for lack of written sources. He and Heine-Geldern accept that diffusion is not mechanical and the receiving cultures always select items and integrate them. As a corollary, Heine-Geldern also alludes to the interest of the Continental ethnologists in dynamics of culture change (1960a:51). They are interested in these things for reasons of their own. They bother about the so-called 'empirical laws and probabilities' which can be inferred from the study of contact between two primitive tribes or two archaic and Oriental civilizations for "they may help us to understand similar processes in the past" (Heine-Geldern 1960a:51).

Four decades earlier Kroeber pointed out that diffusion conserved cultural material or organization from the point of view of human culture as a whole. He lamented that this aspect of diffusion had been underestimated because "attention has been given to the mechanism of the spread of culture *per se* or because diffusions have been studied less from an interest in them than as a means by which historical events may be reconstructed or origins determined" (Kroeber 1931: 140). Josef Haekel insists that the ethnologists belonging to the Vienna School should take particular interest in the study of local cultural changes and processes. It is interesting that he considers them as much historical events as transmissions of culture elements and migrations. According to him "the historical method of ethnology is in need of a far-reaching extension, of a sharpening and deepening of its criteria. Particular emphasis must be laid on research into local factors, into the inner life of a culture, in which judiciously planned investigations into structural and functional problems, as well as the recognition of overt and covert patterns can be valuable aids" (quoted in Furer-Haimendorf 1956:155). Not only German-speaking ethnologists, but all anthropologists interested in historical studies, will be able to serve our discipline better in heeding Haekel's advice.

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## EDUCATION AS A STRATEGY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

K. CHANDRASEKHARIAH

**I**n recent years, education has been invested with considerable importance as being instrumental in the development of human resources. It is realized that without generating the necessary potential of human resources, the purposes of social and economic development cannot be accomplished. This preoccupation with the development of human resources through modern education is not matched with an equal concern for the fruitful participation of the educated personnel in the various tasks of national development. The extension of educational opportunities to broader social sectors and the increased investment in education are considered with a certain degree of complacency as adequate conditions for the realization of development objectives.

But it is becoming apparent that in spite of these new trends in education, there are deficiencies in certain vital categories of trained personnel and this has led to certain amount of introspection regarding the social benefits of education. Some of the factors which have led to this kind of disillusionment not only on the part of the educational planners but also in regard to those who are involved in this process would have to be examined closely.

### **Diverse Social Backgrounds**

With the rapid increases in enrolment of students in institutions of higher learning, students are drawn from diverse social backgrounds: the rich and poor, the rural and urban, the high and low caste, with parents who are educated and who are illiterate, etc. It has been a matter of immediate consolation to the educational planners that the benefits of education are not confined to any particular category of population but are becoming more broad-based and widely accepted. But such a development in education is not without deficiencies.

With such diverse social backgrounds, the student body is highly heterogenous with nothing like a crystallized set of goals and objectives which alone could give them a sense of accomplishment. There exists an obvious condition of chaos in the student body with no specific meaning attached to their efforts. This we observe in the way in which students drift from one branch of higher learning to another without ever making an assessment of how such changes are warranted. Each one views education in his own light and there is no way by which the diverse views about their educational pursuits could be



matched with one another so that common view-points and common goals could be established. Least of all is it possible for those who are in institutions of higher learning to develop a sense of participation in the various developmental tasks facing the community and the nation.

Due to the highly selective process by which students are admitted to the institutions of social learning, it might be possible that students may be drawn predominantly from certain classes, but with diversification of courses and increased facilities of education, such overrepresentation of certain classes in these institutions is highly doubtful. With the safeguards that are provided to certain recognized disadvantaged groups, the educational opportunities are taken advantage of by quite a good number of social groups and classes.

### **Student Leadership**

In the light of the above facts, one can infer that the student body is very loosely organized with no means of establishing communication with one another. Leadership is a product of organization and where the student body is so amorphous, it becomes very difficult for the manifestation of leadership functions. Every creative task requires leadership and in its absence the student body does not manifest any sense of purpose, and education is viewed under the limited framework of individual needs and capabilities. This disparate feeling among the students with no sense of a common purpose has led one to submit oneself to the exigencies of personal satisfaction and individual accomplishment.

Even in the same faculty, we find this lack of a common purpose and the feeble manifestation of the creative functions of leadership. Students enter a faculty with disparate views and inclination and even when they leave the faculty, they are never sure that they have imbibed a common tradition and a common outlook towards a profession. Perhaps, it is one of the major deficiencies of higher learning in India that education is not so much viewed as a preparation for participation in a definite task as much as an individual attribute.

Here leadership is not viewed in terms of its political functions. It is viewed more in terms of the organization of youth to undertake creative tasks. In the absence of such leadership in the realm of higher education, education itself seems to lack a creative purpose.

Incidentally, it may be pointed out that student indiscipline is one of the manifestations that could be attributed to the absence of such creative leadership among the students.

### **Mutual Isolation**

With students coming from diverse social backgrounds, it becomes difficult for a teacher to establish effective communication with

his students. He feels himself never at home in the company of students and he has an ugly feeling that he is separated from his students by distance.

The teacher himself occupies a certain position in the social hierarchy and this makes it all the more difficult for him to establish any meaningful relationship with his students. The teachers in institutions of higher learning may be said to occupy middle class position and a large majority of the students are not drawn from this social level. This variation in social levels as between the teacher and his students establishes an inevitable barrier between the two. A certain estrangement between the two seems to be the characteristic of this relationship.

The teacher can never assure to himself that those who study under him would eventually occupy social positions very much akin to his own. Consequently, whenever he gives expression to his own class attitudes, he finds himself addressing a group of strangers. The aspirational levels of his students cannot be clearly discerned by him so long as no meaningful relations can be established with them. He becomes hesitant to confront the students outside the academic world and it leads to a condition of mutual isolation on the part of the teacher and his students. The teacher's position is really precarious in so far as his relationship with his students is concerned under the present system of higher education in India.

It has often been believed that with the weakening of parental control, the teacher can play a very useful role in moulding the energies of the youth with whom he comes into contact. But such a belief does not seem to have been built on any firm foundations in the light of the preceding discussion. The teacher finds himself almost in a hostile environment and it is very difficult to visualize a teacher taking upon himself the tasks of creative leadership in shaping youthful energies.

### **Home Environment**

A majority of students in institutions of higher learning come from such social backgrounds where the possibilities of social and economic advancement are not readily accepted. In the absence of definite mobility trends as between the less-advantaged status of the lower and the lower middle-class and the more privileged status of the upper and the upper middle-class positions, the majority of students who are drawn from the less-advantaged social levels find it difficult to establish higher aspirational levels and, consequently, the aspirational levels of such students are not clearly defined. There is no circumstance related either to the home environment or to the academic world which could enthruse them to strive towards definite goals.

It can be said in this connection that the home environment wields a tremendous influence over the minds of students who are drawn from less-advantaged families. They are aware all the time of the amount of personal sacrifice on the part of their parents without which it would have been very difficult for them to pursue higher studies. They are strongly attached to their families and possess a strong sense of obligation to their parents. Their strong identification with the home makes it difficult for them to identify themselves fully with the more impersonal situation one finds in the academic world. Whenever they are in difficulties, or in doubt, they invariably turn to their families for guidance and support.

Instances are cited where a youth from a humble family background has risen high in the scale of academic accomplishment, but one tends to forget the fact that such a person feels himself deeply obliged to his parents who, in spite of slender economic means, have enabled him to rise high. Thus one's achievement comes to be related not to the varied opportunities that one finds outside the family, but to the home conditions from which one originally came. Thus he tends to view the outside world as essentially hostile, posing many challenges and obstacles in his way. He feels that he would not have been able to face these challenges and obstacles without the support of his family. This deep-seated urge on the part of a great many students to relate their academic career to the home conditions has made it difficult for them to develop a sense of participation and fulfilment as a member of a corporate world outside the family.

### **Technical and Professional Personnel**

There seems to be no correspondence between the way in which various specialized courses are offered to the students in the various institutions of learning and the lack of any corresponding demand for such specialized personnel. Consequently, certain specialized disciplines lack proper employment opportunities and very often such young men and women may have to find employment in such positions where their specialized knowledge finds no application whatsoever. This is one of the reasons why we find considerable dissatisfaction even among the educated employed.

On the other hand, there are certain general courses which do not have any specific employment potential. Students offering such courses will have to drift from one employment to another solely with a view to gain increased monetary benefits and under such circumstances, we find once again the improper placement of the youth in the professional sphere. The number of students offering such general courses being large, we find considerable unemployment among this category of students.



We cannot ignore another aspect of this problem of employment. In spite of the expansion and diversification of higher education, we find that in certain categories of employment which require definite skills, we find there is dearth of personnel. Such dearth of certain types of technical and professional personnel points to the need for the reshaping of higher education to develop the much-needed human resources. It needs no emphasis that one of the important aims of higher education should be to serve the needs and requisites of socio-economic development.

### **The “Average” in Educational Life.**

Many would like to imagine that the Universities and other seats of learning are encouraging and nurturing scholastic talents. But with the expansion of education we find that there is a considerable degree of “levelling,” in the sense that instead of trying to discover the best talent in the student and distinguish it as such from the rest, we are trying to discover the ‘average’ type, the type that is characterized neither by any extraordinary talent nor by complete disinterestedness but which manifests just the minimum interest and the minimum talent that is required to complete higher education. This is justified under the assumption that higher education cannot be a monopoly of a few but should be accessible to a wider section of the student body. Even in the framing of courses of study, and also in the examination procedure, care is taken to keep in view the large body of students with average capabilities and interests and this immediate concern for the “average type” seems to create havoc in the field of higher education.

There is no denying of the fact that individual differences are there and that as there are persons with superior abilities and potentialities even so there are persons with average abilities and potentialities. But unless due recognition is given to superior abilities and capabilities and they are properly nurtured, higher education will reduce itself to a mechanical process without developing the forces of regeneration. Creativity is the simple law of regeneration which ought to find a prominent place in the educational system.

It is pertinent to note that even the mode of recruitment of technical and professional personnel seems to be immediately concerned with the “average” type. Always the minimum qualifications are prescribed and there is no guarantee that only such of those who surpass the minimum expectations will be selected. This procedure of recruitment is a sure way of drying up creative talent among young men and women.

### **Social Development**

Education can be a strategy of social development if it enables mobility of persons from one social level to another without the inhibiting factors arising from traditional hierarchical patterns. The rapid spread of education both in the rural and urban areas brings about a condition which makes the position of the traditional 'elites' less secure. Without such structural changes, the necessary conditions favouring the emergence of a clearly defined and well articulated middle class will not be possible. The existence of such a continuously striving class group can be considered as the only guarantee of sustained social development.

## NEOLITHIC CULTURAL PATTERNS AND MOVEMENTS IN NORTH MYSORE STATE

A. SUNDARA

**T**HE Savalda pottery in the above two varieties is found only upto Terdal and not beyond along the Krishna downwards or in the valleys of her tributaries. It, thus, does not seem to have penetrated into the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. However, sprinkling of this pottery may be found in some of the sites of the other groups

It is yet to be known by way of excavation if the culture represented by this pottery moved together with the other culture described above or appeared at a later stages or succeeded the latter. However, in a very limited excavations<sup>32</sup> at Terdal, the lowest layers produced this pottery, comparatively very few in number. It is likely, therefore that it arrived possibly slightly later than the beginning of the upper Krishna culture. That this pottery is contemporary with that of the first at some stage, is evident from the presence of some distinct motifs of the former on the latter i.e. group three of the first described above and of occurrence of lids in the same way.

Anyway that there is another cultural strain with its distinct pottery, restricted to the upper Krishna basin in extent, is evident from the presence of Savalda pottery in the above sites.

### III. 2. The Sites of the Tungabhadra valley

As many as fifteen sites<sup>32a</sup> are found so far in the Tungabhadra basin. The cultural assemblage of these sites, is in essence more akin to those of T. Narasipura<sup>33</sup> of the Kavery valley; of Paiyampalli<sup>34</sup> of the Palar valley, and Patpadu and Pusalapadu<sup>35</sup> group of sites of the Pennar, which are typically neolithic. Hallur on the Tungabhadra, is a typical example. Nagarjunakonda<sup>36</sup> (Andhra Pradesh) in the lower Krishna basin is another.

In the lower Kavery valley crude microliths on quartz may occur. Parallel-sided blades produced by way of crested guiding ridge technique, fluted cores; black-on-red painted pottery and copper are absent in the cultural assemblages. However parallel-sided blades and fluted cores, in small number, may occur in the latest levels of the sites, probably owing to the intrusion of the chalcolithic from the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. Burnished greyware and coarse brown and blackware pottery, mostly hand-made and non-micaceous and neoliths in abundance are the dominant features. Among the types lipped bowls, bowls with lug handles, urn type vases with flaring rims, are the most common. At T. Narasipura occurs a specialised type



called head-rest<sup>37</sup> or neck-rest which is not found in the equipments of any other culture in India. Types<sup>38</sup> such as platters, lids and vases with everted or outturned rim slightly convex body and round bottom very common in the culture of Krishna valley are very rare.

With these general remarks on the culture, a review of the sites of the Tungabhadra valley, would make clear the latter's strong affinity with that of the Kavery. At Hallur<sup>39</sup>, no parallel-sided blades and cores occur in the early phase but are present in small number in the upper-most layers probably due to the intrusion suggested by the feeble presence of the plain and painted redware pottery of Jorwe fabric. The stratigraphic position of copper also is similar. The burnished greyware and the coarse brown-and-black ware pottery and the pottery-types such as lipped-bowls, bowls with lug handles are in profusion. Also very few sherds of the black-on-red painted sherds of Brahmagiri IA kind comes from the lowest levels probably due to the least intrusion of the upper Krishna culture which was already there in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. Thus while it owes its affiliations to the culture of the lower Kavery-Palar region it clearly differs in pottery and microlithic complex from Maski, Piklihal, and Tekkalkota. Similarly Brahmagiri IB particularly and to some extent Sanganakallu appear to share more with the culture of the south and south-east. Thapar very carefully observed<sup>40</sup> that while the larger proportion of the pottery from Maski-I was wheel turned, the pottery of the comparable periods both at Brahmagiri and Sanganakallu is all hand-made. Further a comparison of the illustrated types of Maski and Brahmagiri show that the vases (cf; MSK: fig. 10; 1-2, 3-6); platters (cf; MSK: fig. 11; Nos. 11-11b) and lids (cf; MSK. fig. 11; Nos. 16-18) on the one hand and lipped bowl (cf; Br: T. 44, 77 & 78) etc. in Brahmagiri on the other are predominant respectively and these dominant types of the one are rear in the other.

The C-14 datings for the early phase of the Kavery-Palar-upper Tungabhadra culture from various sites such as T. Narasipur<sup>41</sup>, Paiyampalli<sup>42</sup>, Palvay<sup>43</sup>, and Hallur would place it to circa 1900-1700 B.C.

The above analysis demonstrates that there was a cultural spread in about 1900-1700 B.C. from the lower Kavery-Palar region upto the Tungabhadra and the lower Krishna where it is represented by Hallur and Nagarjunakonda, the present known extremities on the west and the east respectively. North of this river valley line, the culture is feebly felt. Thus the river valley forms a roughly peripheral zone of the culture.

It is discussed above how the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab was also the peripheral zone of the upper Krishna culture. Thus this region forms a common peripheral zone for the two distinct cultures

having their foci in diametrically opposite regions: Upper Krishna in the north-west and lower Kavery-Palar in the south-east.

Further it is interesting to note in this context the stratigraphy of Brahmagiri. The thin Brahmagiri IA having the cultural impulses of the upper Krishna was heavily superimposed immediately by IB. having strong affinity with Kavery-Palar culture. This slightly distinguishable chronological sequence of the two cultural phase, is also confirmed by the c-14 datings for the early phases of the two cultures i.e. circa 2100–2000 B C and circa 1900–1800 B C respectively.

The second cultural impact was comparatively strong and was perhaps responsible for the discontinuation of the painted pottery tradition of the first which was already weak.

Thus the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab has essentially two cultural strains mingled up together and present a hybrid form showing affinity to either of the cultural foci. Sanganakallu, Tekkalakota, Maski, Piklihal are the best examples. Or the above evidences may be put thus. The stratigraphical, cultural and chronological continuity of the above I and III cultures as well found in Brahmagiri, seem to indicate that the former (i.e. the culture of the upper Krishna) might well have developed into the latter (i.e. the culture of the lower Kavery-Palar roughly bordered by the Krishna-Tungabhadra) at the hands of the Late Stone Ages people<sup>44</sup> in the latter region. The environment in the east and south of the Doab, the lithic tool tradition of the Late Stone Age faintly reflected in the quartz microliths sparsely found, the dwindling of the painted pottery tradition of the upper Krishna in the course of its diffusion along the course seem to account for the absence of the parallel-sided blade industry, copper and painted pottery and for the development of the prolific neolithic industry in the latter. If this is so, here are found: the transformation of a chalcolithic culture into neolithic stage and the Late Stone Age culture developing into distinct neolithic economy owing to the cultural impetus of the upper Krishna. However these observations are further required to be examined thoroughly and deeply from the developmental stages of the cultures both horizontally and vertically in these two regions. The present evidence are based only on the pottery and thus are not sufficient to prove beyond doubt either way but only seem to offer a hypothesis as above. The cultures of these two regions therefore at the moment are taken to be different from each other originating and developing in different regions as explained above.

#### IV. 3. The Sites of the Bhima Valley

It is mentioned above that there occurred a kind of black-on-red painted sherds having affinity with the chalcolithic redware of Jorwe

fabric in the uppermost layers of Piklihal<sup>45</sup>, Tekkalakota<sup>46</sup>, Hallur<sup>47</sup>, etc suggesting an intrusion of the chalcolithic culture of the Godavary valley into the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. But the course and extent of the intrusion was not archaeologically vindicated. The author's explorations in the Bhima valley led to the discovery of about twenty-five sites<sup>48</sup> with abundant plain and painted pottery of Jorwe fabric, along with the greyware pottery of essentially upper Krishna, parallel-sided blades, fluted cores in profusion etc. These sites clearly indicate the course and intensity of the percolation of the chalcolithic culture of the Godavary. What is noteworthy here is the pristine purity of the Jorwe pottery in types and fabric unlike that of the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. The author has dealt with these sites in detail in his article: 'Proto-historic Sites in Bijapur Dt.'<sup>49</sup>. Hence they are briefly discussed here.

Almost all the known types<sup>50</sup> such as highnecked Jar, vases with everted rim, spouted jars, channel spouted bowls, hemispherical bowls, concave-sided carinated bowls with sagger base etc with typical geometrical designs in black, are found in large numbers. Besides the chalcolithic black-and-red ware pottery, occasionally white painted analogous to that of Tekawada<sup>51</sup>, also occur in most of the sites. Dhulkhed and Urchan are the typical sites.

In the uppermost Bhima are two sites, Chandoli<sup>52</sup> and Songoan<sup>53</sup>, with this pottery in plenty. In the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab the author found this pottery in a rather considerable number particularly at Watgal, and other sites such as Sangankallu and Brahmagiri. Allchin reported<sup>54</sup> the occurrence of this pottery at Piklihal and called it AB ware. But here, the pottery is rather coarse unlike the fine pottery of the Bhima in Bijapur Dt. The known types become rare: high necked jar<sup>55</sup> with beaded rim is rather common. The painted designs too are much less varied. This deterioration might be owing to the local gneissic clay and possibly to the powerful intrusion<sup>56</sup> of the iron-using Megalithic people, just then. This pottery is conspicuously absent<sup>57</sup> in the upper Krishna, the Ghataprabha and the Malaprabha.

Thus, with the series of sites having the Jorwe pottery only along the Bhima and in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, it is evident that there was a diffusion of the chalcolithic culture of the Godavary along the Bhima into Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab<sup>58</sup>.

The stratigraphic position<sup>59</sup> of this pottery in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, suggests that it occurred only in the latest phase of the neolithic. The C-14 datings for Chandoli would place the culture there between circa 1400-1200 B.C. Thus the diffusion of the culture along the Bhima towards the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, seems to have taken place in between 1300-1000 B.C.



### Summary

The region under study witnessed four cultural movements from three different sources having distinct individual features.

The first is from the upper Krishna and spread along the Krishna mainly and also to the Ghataprabha, the Malaprabha, the Don valleys and then to the Bhima-Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab that seems to be the peripheral zone of this culture. The upper Tungabhadra received least of the influence of this culture. Thus this cultural spread was most extensive and occupied major part of the region. This culture is distinguished by a kind of exuberant painted pottery tradition, and use of copper. In view of the chronological priority of the arrival of this culture, the authors of this culture were responsible for the introduction of copper in the region. The movement took place probably between circa 2300–2000 B.C.

With this culture there is another cultural strain represented by a distinct pottery called, “Savalda ware”. At present, it is found to have very restricted geographical extent i.e. upper Krishna basin only. Its other characteristics and also the stage at which it makes its appearance in that part, are yet to be known only by way of excavation of some selected sites.

In the Tungabhadra valley is a different culture characterised by greyware pottery and neoliths and almost without black-on-red painted pottery, parallel-sided blades and copper, much more akin to that of the lower Krishna-Pennar-Palar valley. It seems to have been developed in the lower Krishna-upper Pennar region between circa 1900–1700 B.C. among the local people probably in the Late Stone Age stage owing to their cultural contacts with those of the chalcolithic culture of the upper Krishna. Thus the Tungabhadra valley appears to be the peripheral zone of this culture. This strongly superimposed over the culture of the upper Krishna in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab area where the latter appeared rather weakly and slightly earlier. The Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab, thus had two cultural strains mingled up with each other into a hybrid form as found at Brahmagiri, Tekkalakota Piklihal etc.

Though it may appear from the stratigraphic, cultural and chronological continuity as found at Brahmagiri that the first chalcolithic cultural strain of the upper Krishna might have been developed by the Late Stone Age into the neolithic cultural pattern of the third type as suggested above, this aspect of the apparent cultural development requires a thorough and deep examination. The evidences on hand now are not enough to prove either way but appear to present the above hypothesis.

Into this hybrid neolithic culture, at the later phase, there was another cultural intrusion characterised by the Jorwe pottery from the Godavary region. This culture moved along the Bhima in between 1300–1000 B.C. and survived for sometime in a deteriorated state in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab.

During this stage there came the powerful iron using megalithic people<sup>60</sup> with black-and-red ware pottery and was responsible for the gradual wiping out of the neolithic traits of the culture in the region.

32. IAR-1965–66. Cyclostyled copy

32a. Hallur; Fatehpur; Mudenur; Nadiharalli; Belur; Hadargeri; Battur; Belagoda-halli; Nandihal; Nadivi; Udegollam; Tekkalakota; Laxmipura; Bagevadi and Hachholli.

33. IAR-1958-60 pp. 33 and 38 respectively.

34. IAR-1964–65 I-38–40.

35. In the valley of the Kunderu river a major tributary to the Pennar river many sites with profuse black-on-red painted pottery and steatite beads, of which Patpadu with its painted bowl was long known from Bruce Foote, are described by, I. Kartikeya Sharma in his paper, "Painted pottery from Pusalapadu, Andhra Pradesh, and futher Explorations in the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts" published in *Indica*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Sept' 67 PP. 75–94.

The abundance of the redware and the black-on-red painted pottery in striking contrast to the almost absence of the same in the sites of the lower Krishna as at Nagarjunakonda in the north; of the Palar and the Kavery as at Paiyampalli and T. Narasipur in the south and of the Tungabhadra as in Brahmagiri IB in the west, is noteworthy. But for this, the culture is more or less the same as that of the surrounding regions. The pottery of the Kunderu valley is non-micaceous like that of Nagarjunakonda, Paiyampalli etc. and in fabrics and types also, is closely akin to those of the latter. The paintings, however, are comparable to those of the upper Krishna sites but less varied. The lineary designs are the most common. It seems to me, therefore, that the painted pottery tradition of the upper Krishna which was in vogue as far east as Utnur in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab was vigorously adopted at some stage, by the authors of the culture of the Kunderu river flowing south-wards from the region of the doab. That the habitations were dense in this river valley is obvious from the large number of sites found there. It is worth recalling here that this region is also rich in the Middle and Late Stone Age sites. Thus there is actually geographical and cultural continuity between the upper Krishna and the Kunderu valley.

The lower Krishna and the Palar regions were too far to be influenced by this luxurious painted pottery tradition. In fact, that the practice of painting pots was not very common is evidenced by either the conspicuous absence of painted pottery or its feeble presence in the sites occurring in between the sites strikingly rich in the painted pottery. Moreover, this art was in vogue mainly along the Krishna and the Kunderu which was teeming with population that could encourage it. The sites away from the Krishna indicate that the use of the painted pottery was occasional and perhaps luxurious.

36. Soundara Rajan K. V.

1958 "Studies in the Stone Age of Nagarjunakonda and Neighbourhood", *AI* No. 14, pp. 93–112.

37. Bruce Foote,  
1914 op. cit, p. 69, Plate 23. IAR-1958-60 pp. 33-38 respectively.
38. Thapar B. K.  
1957 op. cit. figs 10 & 11.
39. IAR-1964-65 pp. I-57-58.
40. Thapar B. K.  
1957 op. cit, p. 40 and the foot-note therein.
41. TF-412 of layer 6 :  $3755 \pm 110$  (1805 B.C.)
42. TF.349 of layer 6  
 $3435 \pm 100$  (1485 B.C.)
43. TF-701.  
1965  $\pm 105$  B.C.
44. Zeuner, F.E., and Allchin Bridget  
1956 "The microlithic sites of Tinnavelly, Madras State", AI, No. 12, pp. 4-20. Seshadri M. 1956, *The Stone Using Cultures of Prehistoric and Proto-historic Mysore*, pp. 23-43. IAR-1965-65: Excavations at Sanganakallu, pp. 1-53-4. Also refer to IAR 1967-68: Excavations at Singanapalle, Andhra pradesh. At this juncture it is interesting to note that the neolithic cultural assemblage found in the excavations have comprised: few parallel-sided blades and microliths and large quantities of grey ware pottery mostly non-micaceous including black-on-red painted in considerable number. It is particularly noteworthy that the predominant types are lipped bowls and vases with high cylindrical neck. Thus the pottery is more akin in types and fabrics to that of the Palar-Kaveri valley. But some of the painted designs are indeed intimately similar to those of Maski fabric in the upper Krishna. Further east, south-east and south of this region we have noticed as at Nagarjunakonda, Paiyampalle, and T. Narasipura that while the pottery of the same fabric and types continue to occur, painted pottery are scarcely found. Thus it appears to confirm that in the region of upper Pennar and lower Krishna there developed a neolithic culture perhaps among the local Late Stone Age people owing to their contact with the people of the chalcolithic culture of the upper Krishna and the influence of the latter on the former in cultural development and adaptations as suggested by the painted and grey the ware pottery traditions. If so, it will account for the absence of the early and rudimentary stage of the neolithic culture in the lower Krishna, Pennar Palar and Kaveri valleys; the local evolution of certain types such as lipped bowl; the absence of copper, parallel-sided blade produced by the crested-guiding ridge technique and of the painted pottery in the areas away from the local region. It appears to me, therefore, that the neolithic culture of the lower Krishna-Pennar-Palar-Kaveri valleys is not of an independent local origin having influence at some stage from the Deccan. It is due to an adaptation essentially of certain traditions of the chalcolithic culture of the upper Krishna among the local people probably in the Late Stone Age stage in the course of the cultural contacts.
45. Allchin F. R.  
1960 op. cit pp. 58-60.
46. Nagaraja Rao et. al.  
1965 op. cit. p. 49.
47. IAR-1964-65 p. I-58.



48. IAR 1957-58, p. 39; 1958-59, p. 32, 1959-60, p. 37.
49. Sundara A., 1968:  
     "Protohistoric sites in Bijapur Dist." *Journal of the Karnatak University*,  
     Vol. IV. April.
50. Sankalia H. D. et. al.  
     1960 From History to pre-history at Nevasa 1954-56, Poona, Figs. 85-92
51. IAR 1956-57 p. 19.
52. Deo. S.B., et. el.  
     1965 Chalcolithic Chandoli.
53. IAR-1964-65, I-48-50.
54. Allchin, F. R.,  
     1960 op. cit, pp. 58-60.
55. Wheeler R.E.M.  
     1947-48, op. cit. p. 222, fig. 17, No. 12. Allchin, F. R. 1960; op. cit. plate 35  
     No. 13. Nagaraja Rao, et. el. 1965. op. cit. fig. 20, No. g.n.
56. Wheeler R.E.M.  
     1957-48; op. cit. Thapar B.K. 1957 op. cit. and Subba Rao, 1958, op. cit. p.80.
57. Author's observation during the explorations.
58. Sundara A.  
     Op. cit. p. 14.
59. Allchin, F. R.  
     1960 op. cit. p. 60. Nagaraja Rao, M.S. et. al.: 1965 op. cit. p. 49, etc.
60. TF-575  
      $2980 \pm 105$  (1030 B.C.). The sample is from the layer that immediately  
     underlies the layer of the overlap of the Iron Age and neolithic.
61. Deo. S.B. et. al.  
     1965 op. cit. p. 25.
62. IAR-1965-66 p. TF-379  
      $3240 \pm 95$  (1290 B.C. and  $3325 \pm 110$  (1375 B.C.).

# MOTIVATION IN MANAGEMENT CONTROL

C. M. KOTTURSHETTI

## **Management Control:**

Management accounting is closely associated with a process called management control. It is a process by which the resources are obtained and used effectively and efficiently in the accomplishment of the objectives of an organization. This process is related to an ongoing operation of a business; it is a recurring process with no definable beginning or end. For purposes of describing management control and showing how accounting information is useful in connection with it, the process may be divided into three parts: (1) planning, (2) operating and (3) measuring and analyzing performance.

Planning is a process by which the aims of an organisation are ascertained. Budget is the principal formal device on which the business plans are based. It is a statement of plans in financial terms. In the actual conduct of operations, accounting data are used to communicate plans and other information and also to guide an organisation in the direction in which the management wants it to go.

As operations proceed, accounting data are used in the measuring and analysing performance for the purpose of making better plans in future. Some concepts governing accounting data used for this purpose are discussed in this paper.

All organisations are made up of human beings. The management control process, in part, consists of inducing the people in an organisation to do certain things and to refrain from doing some other. Although, for some purpose, an accumulation of the costs of manufacturing a product is important the management can neither "control" a product, nor the costs of making a product. What management does or at least what it attempts to do—is to control the action of the people who are responsible for incurring these costs.

The effectiveness of a control technique can be judged by two ways; (1) the direction it gives and (2) by the strength of its motivation.

## **Concept of Correlationship in Management:**

Management problem is essentially and almost invariably a problem of relationships. It may be the problem of relationships between the employers and employees, the enterprise and the customers, the enterprise and the public, the enterprise and its shareholders; or, it may even be between two quantities or amounts such as the amount of profit and the total invested capital, or the targets and the

actual performance, or the work-load and plant capacity etc. It may also be between the employees, their working conditions and surroundings. Management is concerned with establishing meaningful and significant relationship, where it does not exist; or with a systematic study of the existing relationship for measuring and evaluating it by means of appropriate tools and techniques so that such relationships may become more pleasant, productive and profitable. The concept of corelationships in management, therefore, is extremely important.

### **Place of Human Element in Modern Management:**

The human element is a very important factor in modern management. In the process of planning or formulating policies, organising or controlling industries we are inevitably concerned with the contributions of human effort. If the employees are happy, enthusiastic, and co-operative, their contributions can be very much more than others, for frustrated, unhealthy and unhappy one cannot think high of their jobs or of their enterprise. Unhappy employee can cause considerable set-back in the attainment of the objectives. It is, therefore, very important that relations among the employees, between the employees and their surroundings, between the employees and their employers etc., are to be harmonious to attain the maximum and lasting benefits. The study of relationships and of the means by which they can be improved form the subject matter of 'Human Relations'. This is the fundamental basis of effective motivation.

### **Motivation:**

Motivation has been defined by Michael J. Jucious as the act of stimulating someone to get a desired course of action, to push the right button to get a desired reaction." Motivation concerns itself with the will to work, the reasons for work; it seeks to find out ways and means, by which the realisation of these can be helped and encouraged.

### **Insights into Motivation:**

Since the World War II, a great deal of attention has been given to the question of human motivation. Social scientists have sought to develop theories about the motivation of people at work on the basis of their observations in industrial situations, and by studying the 'living examples' furnished by employee-sharing and incentive programmes.

We may here observe some ideas about the motivation advanced by A. H. Maslow<sup>1</sup>. These have won general acceptance by psycho-

1. A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation",  
Psychological Review, Vol. 50, 1943.



logists and provided valuable insights into our industrial organisations.

Dr. Maslow postulates five basic needs which, he says, are organized into successive levels. The following are the levels of basic needs starting with the lowest.

#### **The Physiological Needs:**

These comprise of food, sex and shelter.

#### **The Safety Needs:**

When the physiological needs are relatively satisfied, a set of needs emerges for protection against danger and threats. In an organized society a person usually feels safe from extremes of climate, violence and so on. Similar safety needs are sought by employees apart from job security, insurance and the like in an industry.

#### **Social Needs:**

If the physiological and safety needs are fairly well taken care of, the needs for love and affection and “belongingness” will emerge, and the cycle will repeat itself from this new centre. The person now seeks cordial relations with people in general, a place in his group. If he is deprived of these goals, he will be longing for them more than any other things in the world.

#### **The Esteem Needs:**

Practically everyone has a need for self-respect and for the esteem of others. This results in the desire for strength, adequacy, confidence, independence, reputation or prestige, recognition, attention and appreciation. These needs are very rarely fully satisfied. They are of special importance in our discussion because today the typical industrial or commercial organisation does not offer much opportunity to attain these needs to employees at the lower levels. It is the recognition of these needs that has focused so much attention upon ways to provide employees with a sense of participation.

#### **The Need for “Self-Actualization” for Self-fulfilment:**

Even if all needs mentioned so far are satisfied, a new discontent and restlessness may develop unless the individual is doing what he is fitted for. Dr. Maslow writes: “A musician must make music, an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to be ultimately happy. What a man can be he must be. This need we may call self-actualisation”. The clear emergence of these needs rests upon prior satisfaction of the physiological, safety, love and esteem needs. People who are

satisfied in these needs are basically satisfied people, and it is from these that we can expect the fullest and healthiest creativeness.

Motivation is intimately connected with morale. Poor morale is the manifestation of a defective motivating power. Morale means different thing to different people. However, the nature of morale will be clear from the following analysis:

- 1) *What it is:* an attitude of mind, a state of well being and an emotional force.
- 2) *What it does:* affects output, quality, costs, co-operation, discipline, enthusiasm, initiative and other aspects of success.
- 3) *Where it resides:* in the minds, attitudes and emotions of individuals by themselves and in their group reactions.
- 4) *Whom it affects:* Immediately employees, ultimately the employer and the community.
- 5) *What it affects:* willingness to work and to co-operate in the best interest of the enterprise and in turn of individuals themselves.

The morale can be measured by two ways: One, by measuring the productivity, profits and other forms of goal achievement; another by measuring the sentiments and attitudes of the employees towards their organisation. The former is more objective but less direct than the latter. In general the tools of measurement of morale are:

- 1) Conducting interviews, questionnaires etc.
- 2) Level of output.
- 3) Absenteeism
- 4) Labour turnover
- 5) Accidents and
- 6) Grievances

The important consequences of bad morale are:

- 1) Reduced productivity
- 2) Excessive absenteeism
- 3) Antagonism towards rules and supervision
- 4) Excessive complaints and grievances
- 5) Employee turnover
- 6) Frictions between employees
- 7) Alcoholism, and
- 8) Accidents

### **Management and Motivation:**

We readily recognise that a man suffering from a severe dietary deficiency is sick. The deprivation of physiological needs has be-

havioural consequences. The same is true – although less well recognised – of deprivation of higher-level needs. The man whose needs for safety, association, independence or status are thwarted is as sick as the man who has rickets. And his sickness will have behavioural consequences. It would be wrong to attribute his resultant passivity, his hostility, his refusal to accept responsibility to his inherent “human nature”. These forms of behaviour are symptoms of illness of deprivation of his social and egoistic needs.

The man whose lower-level needs are satisfied is not motivated to satisfy those needs any longer. For practical purposes they exist no longer. Management often asks, “Why aren’t people more productive? We pay good wages, provide good working conditions have excellent fringe benefits and steady employment. Yet people do not seem to be willing to put forth more than minimum efforts”.

The fact that management has provided for these physiological and safety needs has shifted the motivational emphasis to the social and perhaps to the egoistic needs. Unless there are opportunities at work to satisfy these higher level needs, people will be deprived and consequently their behavior will reflect this deprivation. Under such conditions, if management continues to focus its attention on physiological needs, its efforts are bound to be ineffective. People will make instistent demands for more money under these conditions. Although money has only limited value in satisfying many higher level needs, it can become the focus of interest if it is the only means available.

The means for satisfying man’s physiological and (within limits) his safety needs can be provided or withheld by management. Employment itself is such a means, and so are wages, working conditions, and other benefits. By these means the individual can be controlled so long as he is struggling for subsistence.

But this approach does not work at all once a man has reached an adequate subsistence level and is motivated primarily by higher needs. Management cannot provide a man with the satisfaction of needs for self fulfilment. It can create such conditions so that he is encouraged and enabled to seek such satisfactions for himself, or it can thwart him by failing to create those conditions. But this creation of conditions is not ‘control’. It is not a good device for directing behavior. And so management finds itself in an odd position. The only significant exception is where management practices have not created confidence in a “fair break” – and thus where safety needs are thwarted. But by making possible the satisfaction of low-level needs, management has deprived itself of the ability to use as motivators the devices on which conventional theory has taught it to rely – rewards, promises, incentives, threats and other coercive devices.



The philosophy of management by direction and control – regardless of whether it is hard or soft – is inadequate to motivate because the human needs on which this approach relies are today unimportant motivators of behavior. Direction and control are essentially useless in motivating people whose important needs are social and egoistic. Both the hard and the soft approach fail today because they are simply irrelevant to the situation. People, deprived of opportunities to satisfy at work the needs which are now important to them, behave exactly as we might predict – with indolence, passivity, resistance to change, lack of responsibility, unreasonable demands for economic benefits.

### **A New Approach of Management:**

For these and many other reasons, we require a different theory of the task of managing people based on more adequate assumptions about human nature and human motivation. Following are the broad dimensions of such theory:

- 1) Management is responsible for organising the elements of productive enterprise – money, materials, equipment, people – in the interest of economic ends.
- 2) People are not by nature passive or resistant to organisational needs. They have become so as a result of experience in organisations.
- 3) The motivation, the potential for development, the capacity for assuming responsibility, the readiness to direct behavior toward organisational goals are all present in people. Management does not put them there. It is a responsibility of management to make it possible for people to recognise and develop these human characteristics for themselves.
- 4) The essential task of management is to arrange organisational conditions and method of operation so that people can achieve their own goals best by directing their own efforts towards organisational objectives.

This is a process primarily of creating opportunities, releasing potential, removing obstacles, encouraging growth, and providing guidance. It is what Peter Drucker has called “Management by Objectives” in contrast to “Management by Control”. It does not involve the abdication of management, the absence of leadership, the lowering of standards, or other characteristics usually associated with the ‘soft’ approach theory.

In the design of a management control system, principles of psychology, imperfect though they are, are much more important than generally accepted accounting principles. The system should motivate

the organisation, as strongly as feasible, to work toward the company's objectives. The direction and strength of motivation are likely to be optimum when the following conditions exist:

- 1) The system has the active backing of management and is regarded by the organisation as a part of the management process.
- 2) The locus of control is the responsibility centre, an organisation unit headed by a responsible person.
- 3) The costs used in measuring performance are, to some significant degree, controllable by the head of the responsibility centre.
- 4) The basis of measuring desired performance reflects those aspects of output and input that are important under the circumstances.
- 5) The responsible supervisor participates in the process of setting standards and understands the basis on which he is being judged.
- 6) The control period is short enough so that management can intervene quickly before trouble becomes serious.
- 7) The results of actual performance are collected according to the same definitions and concepts used in setting the standards of desired performance.
- 8) In reports of performance, attention is focused on exceptional items; that is, those in which actual performance is significantly different from standard.
- 9) Management adjusts the system to differences in individual personalities.
- 10) If financial incentives are used, there is general agreement that the basis of measurement is fair.
- 11) Unnecessary reports are not permitted to creep into the system, and reports that become unnecessary are eliminated.
- 12) Reports are objective, timely, clear and easily understood, and, if feasible, show the reasons.

There are successful management control systems that violate some or all of the above statements. For example, a chief executive with an extremely strong personality can be as effective as a entire, formal system of controls. Such situations are unusual, however, and do not destroy the usefulness of these comments as generalisations.

In the measurement of performance, the essential task is to compare what actually happened with what should have happened under the circumstances. The standard, or measurement of what should have happened, can rarely be determined with precision. Yet judgements must be made, and they can be made with some assurance that they are correct if the best possible use is made of the available

information. The motivation calls for a particular pattern of management behaviour. Their behaviour must be credent to the employees in a very simple way. The management behaviour must be such that the employees must think that the management is taking care of them always. Similarly, from the employees side, there shall be trust in the management.

### **Acknowledgement**

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## LAND DISPUTES AND THEIR SETTLEMENT IN MEDIAEVAL KARNĀṬAKA\*

G. R. KUPPUSWAMY

### Introduction:

The main purpose of this paper is to examine the causes and nature of the settlement of various land disputes which arose in Mediaeval Karnāṭaka. Our study is based on a detailed consideration of inscriptions and prefaced with a theoretical analysis.

Of the *Smṛitikāras*<sup>1</sup>, Kātyāyana mentions the following six causes of land disputes: (1) claim to more land, (2) claim to the entitlement of less than one possesses, (3) claim to a share, (4) denial of shares, (5) seizing possession where previously there was none and (6) boundary<sup>2</sup>. According to Nārada, disputes relate to dykes or embankments, boundaries of fields, ploughed and fallow land<sup>3</sup>. Manu says that disputes particularly relating to the boundary are to be settled taking into account the concealed and visible signs, previous enjoyment, constant flow of water, and if still doubt exists, the views of the witnesses. Vijnānēśvara, in his *Mitāksara*, gives details regarding the selection of witnesses. No single person, however competent, should settle disputes or attempt to fix boundaries. Witnesses from the immediate neighbourhood, preferably the inhabitants belonging to different classes of the village are to be heard. They are to be in groups of 4, 8 or 10. The king should take his decision and fix the boundary on their recommendation.

### i) Causes:

Inscriptions, available in different parts of Karnāṭaka, help us to examine this issue. The specific disputes and their settlement which will be considered below, clearly indicate that conflicting claims for the ownership of land<sup>4</sup>, faulty finalisation of sale transactions<sup>4a</sup>, improper sharing of the produce or fund, overrunning of boundaries of either the village<sup>5</sup> or the land were the main causes of these disputes.

The agreements and the anxiety to prevent a number of latent disputes from developing into actual ones by incorporating suitable conditions in the documents as a precautionary measure suggest other causes. For instance, there are agreements which prohibit alienation of land<sup>6</sup> or street, which if violated might very well lead to a dispute. Some inscriptions specify the access, such as houses and shops perhaps to avoid scuffle with the authorities and neighbours and also to regulate a planned development of the complex. The shops and houses of Sūdi, for example, are to have their access situated in the

lands of Karugumbāda<sup>7</sup>. Similarly there are agreements which regulate water-rate<sup>8</sup> and its apportionment, for, improper distribution of water or unauthorised collection of water-rate was also a cause of conflict or dispute.

Submerging of a piece of land while constructing a channel, if not compensated in some other way, might become a cause for wrangling. The *Brāhmins* of Udbhavanarasimhapura or Beḷlūr and some other individuals agreed to relinquish their claims over lands which came in the way of embankments and channels built by Perumāḷdēva *daṇḍanāyaka* for providing a permanent supply of water to the rice-fields. The *Brāhmins*, however, received compensation elsewhere<sup>9</sup>. It is interesting to note that those who gave up their lands had a deep sense of appreciation for the work which incidentally benefitted them as well. This agreement was made in the presence of *Śrīvaishṇavas* and *nāḍis* specified in the inscription.

## ii) Nature:

The disputes were generally related to boundaries of either lands or villages. For instance, one of the major disputes that took place in 1220 had to be settled personally by the king Hoysaḷa Narasimha II while he was camping at Silgōḍu. It related to the *ūroḍeyas* of Hebbāni in Asandi *vritti* and a number of *gauḍas* of Hoḷalkere-*vritti*. The two parties were disputing the boundary of Badanahāḷu, Molahāḷu and Kallukere<sup>10</sup>. The king settled the dispute on the spot with the help of five ministers.

Sometimes false claims to lands were put up. An instance is the dispute between the *Brāhmins* and temple authorities of Vijayanarasimhapura. The record will be examined in detail below. This presents a curious instance of a land transaction, because the party which had purchased a piece of land failed to pay the amount due to the seller. A trial by ordeal was followed. The person who claimed to have sold the land but had not received payment was asked to hold the consecrated food in his hand. When he did it and won his claim, he was issued with a certificate of victory. This was done in the presence of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* and of the two parties. The respectable citizens, local authorities and royal officers were also present at this occasion. It would have been very difficult for one to utter a lie and get away with it in their presence. In another instance, a transaction had been effected without consulting all the concerned<sup>11</sup>; hence a division of the gift was made to satisfy them.

## iii) Parties:

Generally the parties involved in a dispute were either individuals or institutions. Apart from disputes between individuals, there were

disputes between the *Brāhmins* and temple authorities and between authorities of two temples. Sometimes the local officers were also involved<sup>12</sup>. Often the parties were required to deposit caution money before establishing their claims. For instance, the priest of the temple at Beḷatūr in Nugunāḍ deposited a sum of 20 *gadyāṇas* before a dispute over the management of a fund was settled<sup>13</sup>.

#### iv) Method:

The settlement of the dispute was brought about sometimes in the presence of the king or his officers, the ministers, *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, citizens, *jīyas* (trustees), *gaḍas* and others. Sometimes the disputed area was inspected but the trial by ordeal was the usual means of settling disputes. Usually the claimant was asked to hold the consecrated food in his hands and assert his claim. It was generally followed by the award of a certificate of victory. Besides undertaking the settlement of specific disputes in this manner, execution of agreements of a general nature and adoption of proper boundary-marks and their specification in the inscription were made to prevent further disputes.

#### Some Examples:

Some disputes and the method adopted to solve them may be noted here. Mention has already been made of the dispute between the *ūroḍeyas* of Hebbani and Āsandi *vritti* and the *gaḍas* of Hoḷalkere *vritti* over the boundary of some villages.<sup>14</sup> This dispute involved two *nāḍs*, particularly Gangavāḍi and Noṇambavāḍi, and it was for this reason the king's presence was required. It is interesting to note that in this case ineffacable and an easily identifiable boundary was drawn.

Another dispute between the *Brāhmins* and temple authorities of Vijayanarasimhapura centred round the temple lands. The priests laid claim to a piece of land. The inscription which narrates this tells us that the arbiters who inspected the place found that at no time the land was a part of the temple endowment. They told the priests that their claim was unjustified. This dispute was ultimately settled peacefully and the priests admitted their mistake and withdrew their claim. The five priests of the temple of Kammaṭēśvara after agreeing among themselves gave to the *Brāhmins* a *vōle* containing the details of the agreement. They said that the land of the temples which they had been enjoying was theirs and the land which was enjoyed by the *Brāhmins* since the establishment of the *agrahāra* belonged to the *Brāhmins* themselves<sup>15</sup>. The record also reveals the absence of the watchman when the land was originally distributed between the *Brahmins* and the temples. This inscription outlines the procedure followed, such as the inspection of the place by the prominent officers and citizens, including the *jīyas*



who were superior to the priests etc. It brings to light the importance of the presence of a watchman at the time of the distribution of land<sup>16</sup>. Another dispute between the authorities of two temples may also be examined, for the method followed in settling the dispute is similar to that laid down by the great commentator Vijnānēśvara. A dispute arose in K. Y. 4287 between Śivaśakti, the *āchārya* of Kallēśvara temple and Kalyāṇaśakti, the *āchārya* of Mūlasthāna temple of Kittūr. Chandeya sāvanta a state dignitary was involved in an unauthorised transfer of a piece of land to Kalyāṇaśakti's father Dēvarāsi, and the latter had also obtained a fraudulent *śāsana*. His son had the cheek to swear before Īśrayya *daṇḍanāyaka*, the officer who tried the case, and deny the entire transaction. The dispute was settled by the convention method. A *vōle*, in which the details of the guilt were recorded, was placed on the head of the person whose innocence was to be proved and the ordeal of weighing was followed<sup>17</sup>.

### Conclusion:

It seems that the disputes were, to a large extent, avoided by detailing share of produce,<sup>18</sup> water-rate<sup>19</sup>, compensation for loss of land<sup>20</sup> etc. Utmost care seems to have been taken while fixing the boundary<sup>21</sup> and recording it in the inscription. Similarly the *Kraya-śāsanas* (sale-deeds) covered as many details as possible. They bore the signatures of the witnesses and the transaction itself was carried out with the full knowledge and consent of parties<sup>22</sup>. Normally the disputes were settled amicably because of the good sense of parties, sound and simple official procedure and god-fearing nature of the people. Sometimes the kings issued circulars defining the rights of various parties. There were penalty clauses in the document or records which were in the nature of threats such as visitation of God and so on. Though one may doubt the wisdom of such clauses, there is no doubt the agreements were respected for a reasonably long period of time. This speaks to the comparative efficiency of the system which prevailed.

### Footnotes

1. See P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastras*, III (1946) Pp. 502 ff. for a detailed theoretical analysis of this problem.

2. *ibid*, P. 502.

3. *ibid*.

4. *EC*, V (ii), Ak No. 49, P. 400 (Text), P. 127 (Trans).

4a. *EC*, VIII (ii), Sb. No. 237, P. 76 (Text).

5. *EC*, VII (i), Ci. No. 72, Pp. 466ff. (Text); P. 193 (Trans)

6. *EI*, XV, Pp. 75-79. The instructions are so specific that the alienation should not take place inspite of pressure. The Text read: *ā bhūmiyaṁ avar iḷḷa kēriyal = n =*

*onduñ kṣudrōpadravamam = āgal īyadesvadharmadiñ paripālisuvar.* The agreement was effected in A. D. 1010 stipulating the grant of 114 *mattars* of black-loam land to *Brāhmins* of the place.

7. *ibid.* No. 6 Pp. 77–80. Text: – *anḡaḡiyuñ maneyum Karugumbāḡa polada chatuṛāḡhāṡasahitañ.* In fact the agreement, general in nature, was made in the presence of all important central and local officers for 8 *setṡis* and 80 households or *okkalu* of *Sāḡi* in A. D. 1069.
8. *EC*, V (ii), Ak. No. 51, P. 402 (Text); P. 128 (Trans). The inscription is in the nature of an agreement between the *Brāhmins* of Haḡḡi Hiriyur, the chief place of Kāḡikaṡṡe and the priests of the temple of Jagatēśvara. The *vōle* given by the *Brāhmins* to the priests of the temple is as following:” “Of the five *gadyāns* paid every year to the temples of Haḡḡi Hiriyūr, chief place of Kalikatte, they will deduct 5 *haṡas* and have the rod let down from the stream of water and let it on to the rent-free ground of Jagatēśvara temple and the remaining four *gadyāṡas* 5 *honnus*, the priests will pay to *Brāhmins*. If any extra are to be paid, it will be met according to the custom of the country. The temple authorities control over the water supply and the *Brāhmins* pay 5 *honnus* for the water supplied by the stream.”
9. *EC*. IV (ii), Ng. No. 49 and 50, P. 526 (Text); P. 126 (Trans); also see No. 48, P. 125 (Trans) for another instance.
10. *EC*, VII (i) No. 72, Pp. 466 ff. (Text); P. 193 (Trans). It reads as following:  
*Samasta prabhu gauḡḡaḡu badanahālu molahāḡa kallakereya sīmā sammandakke toḡaki dēvana samāpakke hōgi dēvanu Silugōḡḡinalu horabāḡa biṡṡadalli Ballāḡa dēvanuñ pañcha pradhānaruñ tiddida kramaventendaḡe Nonambavāḡi Ganga-vāḡiḡa eraḡḡḡnāḡa sīme Gangavāḡiḡe ḡūḡiḡa kallu, hāḡḡangiḡa beṡṡa hakiḡa done, tāḡiḡa kaṡṡa parichēḡiga harida Bidirahāḡḡi hola sīme sīme.*
11. *EC*, VIII (ii), Sb. No. 237, P. 76 (Text).
12. See F. N. 10, above.
13. *EC*, IV, (ii), Hg. No. 10, P. 60. Here the party settling the dispute itself has deposited the caution money, perhaps to ensure an impartial administration of justice. For similar instances, see *EC* VI, Mg. No. 65, P. 277 (Text); P. 71 (Trans). In this case a deposit of 50 *honnu* was made.
14. See F. N. 10, above.
15. *EC*, V (ii), Ak. No. 40, P. 400, (Text); P. 127 (Trans). To quote *Kammatēśvara dēvara sthānada bhūmiyalli hecchu kundunṡendu vivāḡisidalli ā sthāḡavanōḡi arāḡi toḡagi dēvādānavalla endu tiḡidu nōḡiyadanu vivāḡisuvaha mariyāḡe alla endu ā sthāḡnikarige hēḡa, ā sthāḡnikaru oḡambāṡṡu vivāḡa māḡḡevu īdina modalāḡi tamma ella sthāḡagaḡe bhūmiyalli anāḡi toḡagināvu bhōḡisuva bhūmi emmadu aḡrahārā vāḡandu toḡagi mahājanagaḡu bhōḡisuva bhūmi mahājanangcḡadu.*
16. See, T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, (Madras–1955), Pp. 241, ff. for a detailed discussion of *kāval* system.
17. See *JBBRAS* IX, Kittūr inscription No. 6, Pp. 304 ff. Unfortunately Fleet has not given a correct rendering of the passages or words. For instance, *Sirastāyiyāḡi* implies that a *vōle* in which details of the guilt are recorded is to be placed on the head of the person whose innocence is to be proved. The expression *Chandeya Sāvanta* translated as Chanda state is wrong. The whole expression *Kalyāṡa-śaktiḡaḡayya dēvarāsiyāṡeyan mīri chandeya sāvantaḡa keyyal keyyanisikōṡḡu śāsanavan̄ bara (ri) si Kōṡḡanendu* means “*Kalyāṡaśaktiś father Dēvarāsi*, without proper authority obtained land from Chandeya Sāvanta and had a grant written in his favour.” To quite the text further, *tammayya dēvarāsiḡa keyya ā koḡana*

*keyyanu Chandeya sāvantana mūlasthāna dēvarige kuḍuvalli āṇeyanīri keyyanīsi kombuielleendenalu.* Elsewhere the term *mahājana* has been translated wrongly as banker.

18. The inscription under study records an agreement between the inhabitants of the 18 *viṣayas* and others. Some of the points covered in the agreement are: that (i) cows and the buffaloes are not to be taxed, (ii) 1/3 of the produce of forest tract and land on which dry crops are raised and 1/3 of the produce of land below a tank on which paddy is grown to be the Government's share. – *EC*, X (i) Mb. No. 49 (a), P. 87; see also No. 42; *EC*, III (i), TN. No. 100, P. 86; *Ibid*, No. 98; *EC* X (i), Mr. No. 100 Pp. 176–77; *EC*, IX Bn. No. 45, P. 16 (Text), P. 14 (Trans). In some disputes regarding sharing of produce, it led to a quarrel and to a tragic end *EC* VI, Cm. No. 30, P. 38.
19. See above, F.N. 8.
20. *ibid*, F. N. 9.
21. Manu speaks of boundaries of five kinds – *dhvajini matsyini chaivā naidāni bhayavarjita rājā śāsana nītācha sīmā pancha vidhāsmritāḥ*. Similarly Brihaspati enjoins that the elder persons in the family should point them out to other youths and children, who in their turn, may point out to others. In this way the traditional knowledge about boundaries may be kept up. The inscriptions of the time also refer to some of the following boundary-marks used to demarcate the fields, stones with marks of trident, *hallā* or stream, *mugguḍḍe* or hillock, temple, channels from tanks, *beṭṭa* or hill, *Nandikallu*, stones with bull-marks or *Gāḷiya kallu*, *Kinnarigallu*, trees like *maruval*, *siripatra*, *hutta* or snake-pit, stones with mark of *Śanka*, *Chakra*, *gajapāṣāna* or elephant's rocks, and buffalo-rock. The boundaries were of two types, concealed as also visible ones, for which an elaborate procedure is laid down by *Vijnānēśvara*.
22. For instances see *EC* V (ii), Hn. No. 181 P. 137, (Text) (i), P. 42 (Trans), *ibid* No. 151, P. 121 (Text), (i) P. 39 (Trans).

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# POSITION AND PROBLEMS OF HINDU WIDOWS\*

G. S. BIDARAKOPPA\*\*

## I

### Introduction:

Woman has been playing a number of traditional roles within her home and has increasingly been participating in various modern tasks due to socio-religious and politico-economic revolutions. She is not only a wife, a mother and a housekeeper, but also a teacher, an administrator, and a politician. She has entered almost all the fields of human activities. She competes and claims equality with man. Feministic movement has in a greater measure borne fruit. But still woman has her inadequacies; she lags behind the man as she is tradition-bound; she suffers from a number of problems that need urgent attention.

If one observes the position of the Hindu woman throughout the social history of India, one finds, by and large, the inhuman subjugation of woman. Manu said that woman is not fit for independence. "She has to be always dependent—as a child upon the father, as a wife upon the husband, as a widow upon the son." Until recently the Hindu woman had been systematically relegated to the background. The traditional Hindu society subordinated the woman and confined her to the home. The highest duty of a woman, according to Manu, is to obey and serve her husband. Her function was, as Abbe Dubbois (1967:26) puts it, "to minister to men's physical pleasures and wants." She was considered a physical rather than a psychological possession. She had no right of independent existence. Manu's code, says Das (Narain. Loc. cit: 23), forged "unbreakable shackles on Indian woman for countless succeeding generations. Even today, it is his laws which keep Indians helpless in the prison of Hindu orthodoxy. Manu for the first time legally assigned to woman her definite place in society. But his laws reflect a conflict. . . a mother is more to be served than thousand fathers, yet his laws place women socially on a level with the lowest of all groups in Aryan society, the Sudra".

Hence, there is a need to know more about the woman of India and to understand the many facets of her life, particularly widowhood, for as Margaret Cormack (1953:173) says, "There is probably no

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\*\* The author expresses his gratitudes to Shri H. M. Marulasiddhaiah for his valuable guidance extended to him in writing the paper.

aspect of womanhood that has received more sympathy than that of widowhood in India, and the majority of Indian reformers, men and women, have worked tirelessly for an amelioration of their lot". In this short paper, I have tried to review the traditional position of the Hindu widow and the problems she encounters in the contemporary society.

## II

### Position of Widows:

Traditionally, the widow in general had no honourable place in society. Frieda M. Das (1932:34, 77) says, "Widows could not remarry, had to renounce their sex, could not pronounce the name of another man, and had to live ascetically on fruits, roots and flowers. They had their hair cut, were stripped of jewelry, slept on hard surfaces, and had one meal a day. Their presence was unlucky and accursed, they were not allowed to join any feasts or merry making, and they became unpaid drudge. They were easy prey to male relatives, and sometimes escaped by prostitution, suicide or pilgrimages". Her lot was one of severe hardship and humiliation. There are certain strict religious dictates. Until death she was to observe various vows and fasts. She had to remain chaste and self-controlled and as mentioned earlier she was not allowed to get remarried.

However, the position of the widow, it is said, was fairly satisfactory till 300 B.C. She could either get remarried or could have recourse to *Niyoga*. This system was adopted as a measure to put a check on the growing evil of immorality. Her major disability was that she could not inherit her husband's property. The condition of the widow began to deteriorate after 300 B.C. till about the beginning of the Christian era. Vatsala Narain says that asceticism swept through India, and the law givers became more hostile to women, forbidding them to remarry. The custom of *Niyoga* in course of time became a discredited institution and the custom of remarriage an unpopular one.

The position of the widow improved a little, after 200 A.D. as regards inheritance. If she lived in the joint family, she was provided with some estate of her husband's property for her maintenance. However, with regard to her ritual position she was regarded inauspicious. The custom of tonsure, unfortunately, was introduced to disfigure her completely. Even today we find some orthodox Brahmin widows observing this custom. The widow did not receive the sympathy of the society at the time when she needed it most. Her position in the family became one of constant suffering and misery.

### Custom of Sati:

*Sati*, the practice of burning women on the funeral pyres of their husbands, was originally a Kshatria custom. It was widely prevalent in ancient times. From 700 A.D. to 1100 A.D. it was found to be more frequent in Northern India. It was considered to be an ideal and the highest religious duty for a widow to fulfil. She was to resort to *Sati* to ensure not only a seat for her deceased husband in heaven but also to be with him and to serve him. Sometimes child widows were also burnt, lest they should go astray and bring disgrace to their families. Often a few innocent and unwilling widows were forced to enter the pyres.

*Sati* was further intensified with the advent of foreign invaders, particularly during Moghul period. It was Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), a staunch advocate of socio-religious reforms, who first undertook to fight for the rights of the widows. He became instrumental in persuading Governor, Lord William Bentinck, to make *Sati* illegal, in 1829.

### Hindu Widow Remarriage:

Hindu marriage is a sacrament binding the wife to the husband in an indissoluble tie which is not severed even by the death of her husband. According to the orthodox Hindu Law, a Hindu widow cannot remarry. But the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act, 1856 legalised the remarriage of Hindu widows. The social taboo attached to the remarriage of widow was so strong as to prevent many widows from taking advantage of the legal provision.

As has already been said, remarriage was prevalent in the Vedic period along with *Niyoga*. It is gratifying to note that the opponents of remarriage including Manu were not so much against the remarriage of child widows as they were for the remarriage of adult widows. But strict prohibition prevailed around 1100 A.D., that even child widows could not be remarried. This rule was rigidly observed by the higher sections of the Hindu society while majority of the lower sections of the community was found to have had the privilege of widow-marriage. Many young widows of the upper strata of society had to lead a life of enforced celibacy, therefore, they preferred to die along with their husbands. So the custom of *Sati* became common.

With the spread of western ideas during the second quarter of the last century Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar championed the cause of widows. He succeeded in getting the Widow Remarriage Act passed in 1856. Many reformers like Pandit Rambai, Mrs. Abala Bose and others suggested remarriage as an effective solution for widow's problems. The remarriage could at best be for those widows who are childless, young, absolutely poor and nobody to support them.



Professor G.C. Hellen (1965:13), who conducted a village study in Punjab, in respect of the social changes brought by the Social Legislation, makes the following statement about the widow remarriage: "Nearly, 77 % of the respondents indicated their support for it, the percentage of Brahmin respondents being the greatest (33.4 %). In the case of young widows, nearly 96 % of the respondents opined in favour of widow remarriage". Strangely enough, he further says, "Respondents in the lower age-group expressed great opposition to the marriage of widows at any stage. Again none of the respondents who favoured widow remarriage agreed to the marriage of his sons to a widow, young or middle-aged".

### III

#### Problems of Widows:

Peter Marris (1958:10) in his study of 'Widows and their Families' says, "When her husband dies the widow has to adjust to her new state while she is preoccupied with a painful struggle to master her grief. For months even after his death, her energies may be so absorbed in this struggle, and her feelings so deeply disturbed, as to affect all her needs and her response to those who try to meet them". Neither father, mother, son, nor a friend can replace her husband in her emotional life. The Hindu woman is loyal to her husband throughout her life in prosperity as well as in adversity. It is a bolt from the blue when she hears that her husband is dead. Her life becomes cheerless and empty; her bangles are broken, her wedlock (*tali*) is removed, Kunkum (Vermilian) is wiped off; her hair is cut (in case of Brahmin widows); she is given coarse cloth to wear and she has to be on one meal a day after discharging the day's religious and household activities. This is the way in which, orthodox Brahmin widows live even today.

The problems that the widow faces may be classified broadly into the following: economic, social, familial, health and emotional. They are interrelated and the degree of their seriousness varies with the widow's age, economic condition, family structure, religious norms and others.

#### Economic Problems:

The woman in India is even today a dependent, whether she works in the house, in the farm or in a factory. It is the man who is the head of the family and the person in charge of the family-exchequer. All the monetary transactions are made in his name and he is the owner of the property. When such a person dies his wife finds it hard to adjust to the changed conditions. Whether the widow belongs to

rich, middle or poor family she has in one way or the other problems connected with finance along with other matters.

For instance, when her husband dies the income of the family naturally decreases. Now she has to depend upon herself. At times she was not used to working outside but has to make efforts to find herself a job, sometimes, reluctantly as she finds no other way of making both ends meet. A little help in the form of money or kind might come from her parents, sons, brothers, sisters, maternal uncles, in-laws and other relatives, friends and neighbours but this help may not be either adequate or be a constant source to depend upon. Her problem becomes worse if she has many children. At times, she sends her children to do manual and menial type of work to supplement her earnings.

The widows belonging to the middle and rich classes also face financial difficulties particularly when they are uneducated and ignorant. There are cases where widowed mothers are driven out to the streets by their sons. This is particularly true when the sons get married and set up their independent families. This, however, does not mean that there are no exceptions. Research studies have shown that a few aged widows in the rich as well as in the poor families enjoy a high status.

#### **Familial and Social Problems:**

It is said that a home is everything to a woman, whereas it is only one part of a man's life. When the bread-winner dies the role and functions of his widow are completely changed. If she is a young or middle-aged, she has to live with her near relatives along with her children if she has any; if aged she has to live with her sons who would support her. She cannot have a separate establishment, for, she is not trained culturally to lead an independent life.

If the children of the widow are minors, she is expected to manage the property of her deceased husband. In this process of management of the property she may be required to enter into litigation with the tenants; if she turns to relatives for help they may deceive her. To get the property of her deceased husband the widow may be required to go to the court of law which, she thinks, is undesirable and expensive for her. Sometimes, her security is in the hands of her near relatives who very often plot against her and exploit her helpless situation.

It is a common experience that when a widow becomes old she gradually loses authority over other members of the family. If the widow does not possess any property, her life in her family and with her close relatives may become miserable. She may be required to suppress her pent up emotions. The conflicts between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law are proverbial. Often she is made to cook separately for herself even though she stays with her sons and daughters-in-law.

The widow is socially incapacitated. The apathy and withdrawal tend to isolate the widow from social life. As it is already mentioned the Hindu widow is forbidden to wear *Tali*, apply *Kumkum*, wear flowers and participate in all those activities which are considered ritually important. Though some old widows may be approached for advice and guidance they are not allowed to enter the circle of purity as they are supposed to create pollution. She is regarded as inauspicious in all castes and subcastes among Hindus. She is to lead a gloomy and lonely life of enforced celibacy in the society. In the words of Cormack (op. cit: 174) a widow "In her parents' house is a burden and is treated as a servant. She gets sympathy, but not much, and she is often considered the cause of her husband's death". Moreover she loses status and prestige in the society.

Though widow's remarriage is legalised, it does not carry the same sanctity and sacredness as that of her first marriage. The second marriage, which is called "*Udaki*" marriage in some parts of the Mysore State, is more prevalent in the low-caste groups. This marriage brings a mate to the woman, and the children born of this alliance have legal sanctity. But the woman is not received by the people to participate in ritual activities. However, this traditionally maintained institutional arrangement has been a source of help to the widow and her children, and a device to mitigate her miseries.

#### Health and Emotional Problems:

These problems refer to psycho-somatic diseases. The widow loses interest in her daily life; and neglects her health and this will have its repercussion upon her health. Lack of social contact, sense of loneliness and other factors affect her health adversely. Peter Marris (op. cit: 13) says, "In the first place, many had suffered from physical symptoms which, in their own opinion, or that of their doctor, were caused or aggravated by the shock of their husbands' death—loss of weight; rheumatism and fibrositis; asthma, bronchitis and cramping pains in the chest; recurrence of duodenal ulcers, gastric ulcers, indigestion; swollen feet and ulcers of the legs; falling hair, skin irritation and rashes; abscess of the gums; headaches, dizziness and 'nerves'." The grief-stricken widows may not find sympathisers who can attend to them when hospitalization is found necessary.

Moreover, the widow gets emotionally disturbed by the sudden shock she receives from the death of her husband. Some of the health problems mentioned above are commonly associated with severe emotional conflict. She becomes restless, agitated and creates a tense situation for herself and for others. She becomes irritated and frustrated because of her distressed mind. She becomes apathetic and overwhelmed with a sense of emptiness of life. She may show signs of



withdrawal from friends and relatives and lose all interest in her life. It is particularly true with those widows who are young and childless.

#### IV

##### **Recent Legislations:**

Social legislation had also become necessary to meet some of the disabilities and needs of these people. The government of India has therefore, passed some Acts in this direction: The Hindu Marriage Act, 1955; The Hindu Succession Act, 1956; and The Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 which include provisions for widow remarriage, succession of property, maintenance, adoption and so on. But it is unfortunate that these legislative measures have not brought many changes, particularly the desired ones, in the status of women in general and that of widows in particular. The reasons may lie in the half-hearted implementation of the Acts and lack of social consciousness among the people.

Needless to say that these statutory provisions have enabled the widow to be socially awakened and economically independent. However, in spite of all these efforts on the part of the government and the voluntary organizations the widow still encounters difficulties due to many social and psychological forces. This is true particularly in the case of widows in the rural society who are more or less tradition-bound.

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## CHANGING ECONOMY OF THE BANJARA\*

B. G. HALBAR

### Introduction:

The Banjara are a caste-like tribe. Traditionally they have been carriers of supplies and drivers of pack-bullocks. In North Karnataka they are known as Lamani. Though known variously in different parts of the country as Lambadi, Labhan, Charan, Sukali etc., they all prefer to be called by the common name of Banjara. Various etymological meanings of the word Banjara are given in the Gazetteers: (i) it is another form of the word *Vanjara*, burners or inhabitants of woods; (ii) it is a derivation of the Persian word Biranjar, meaning a rice-carrier; (iii) it means an arrow; (iv) the true derivation is perhaps from the Sanskrit word Vanija (trader), which is also the common root for the words like Baniya and Banajiga (trader); (v) it may be the derivation from the Sanskrit word *Vanachara* (Wanderer in the Jungle), indicating the nomadic character of the tribe (Nanjundayya and Iyer 1928: 135-36). The regional names like Lambani, Lamani, Lambadi, etc., are said to be derived from *Lavana*, meaning salt, and hence the Lambans being the salt-carriers. They are supposed to be the descendants of the original Aryan gypsies of North-West of India whose descendants are also to be found in various parts of Central and South Europe, America and Central Asia (Aiyar 1962: vii-ix).

### II. Their History:

The Banjara seem to have been one of the ancient tribes of India since their name is to be found in old works like *Dasakumar Charita*. They are supposed to have come to the south during the historical times. General Briggs writing in 1813 says: "Ferishta calls them the grain-merchants, who travel about the country from one end of the Deccan to the other. They came into South India along with the great armies of the Moghul Emperors when they invaded the South. They, with their herds of pack-bullocks, helped the imperial army, fighting in an exhausted country far from their base of supplies, by supplying a fearless and reliable transport service. When the Banjaras came to the South, they were in five groups (or clans): Rathod, Pamhar, and Chauhan (adopted after the names of Rajput clans), Vadatya and Turi. Of these, the Rathod family was the strongest and the most widespread division . . ."

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The importance of their services as supply lines for the Moghul army could be known from the orders of *Vazir* of Shah Jahan granting the Banjaras certain immunity and privileges when he came to the South. One of the copper plates runs as follows:

Ranjanka Pani  
 Chapper Ghas  
 Dinka Tin Khun Maaf  
 Aur Jahan Asaf Janka Ghode  
 Wahan Bhangi Jangika Bail

The meaning of the inscription seems to be: "If you cannot find water elsewhere, you may even take it from the ranjans (pots) of my followers; grass you may take from the roof of their huts; and if you commit three murders a day I will even pardon this, provided that where I find my cavalry, there I shall find always Bangi-Jangi's (leaders of the Banjaras) bullocks". These two leaders together had with them 180,000 bullocks, while their rival Bhagavandas had 50,000 bullocks (Nanjundayya and Ayer 1928: 138-39).

"The Banjaras took up service not only under the Delhi emperors, but also under the rulers of Satara, and subsequently under the Poona Raj and the Subhaship of the Nizam (of Hyderabad), and several of them rose to consideration and power. Indeed, it is of interest to learn how these people are spread over the country, and how as opportunity offered and seemed tempting to the different powers greater or lessor as they rose, their own clanship even on opposite sides, remained unbroken" (Ibid: 140). They also played a significant role as carriers of grain on the side of the British in the Mysore Wars, as well as British wars with the Marathas. Nanjundayya and Aiyar agree with Cumberlege (p. 142) that the Banjaras are derived from the Charan or Bhat caste of Rajaputana. The Charans (wanderers) or bards, owing to their readiness to kill themselves rather than give up the property entrusted to their care, became the best safe-conduct for the passage of goods in Rajaputana. They were protected, firstly, by their sacred character, and secondly by their custom of *targa* or *Chandi* i.e. of killing themselves when attacked and threatening their assailants with the dreaded fate of being haunted by their ghosts.

Bhimbhai Kirparam (quoted by Nanjundayya and Ayer 1928: 143) has noted about their South-ward flights along with Kshatriyas, taking charge of the latter's supplies and thus adopting the profession of cattle-breeders and grain-carriers. Col. Tod says (Nanjundayya Iyer 1928:143): "The Charans or Bhats or bards and genealogists are the chief carriers of these regions (Marwar); their sacred character over-awes the lawless Rajput chief, and even the average Koli and Bhil and the plundering Sahrai of the desert dread the anathema of these



singular races, who conduct the caravans through the wildest and most desolate regions". At another place he describes the settlement of Banjaras "who are . . . carriers by profession, though poets by birth". Irvine has noted the role of Banjaras with the Moghul armies. Both the sides never injured these transport agents and they were invariably paid for their goods and services. They also traded with general population in grain, salt etc., (Nanjundayya and Iyer 1928:147).

Their traditional calling of transporting merchandise from place to place on the back of pack-bullocks when the roads did not exist and communications were scanty in the interior regions of the country, ceased to work when communications were improved and railways and roads were built by the British in the early period of their direct rule in India, say around 1884 in Dharwar District (Govt. of Bombay 1959:483). Naturally, they turned their attention to their environment, viz. jungles, for earning their livelihood, by way of wood-cutting, sale of wood and other forest products. Later they began to supplement their income by working as casual labourers in the fields of the other peasant castes. It is while working as labourers in the fields that they learnt the art of agriculture, which they did not know previously. Thus the most enterprising among them took to agriculture on their own, in the initial stage. They were a semi-civilized nomadic tribe when the British came to rule. But when they lost their only calling of transport of goods and since they were a strong and sturdy people, they figured largely as robbers and bandits before the middle of the last century (see also Panakal and Puneekar 1961:272 for similar views). And the peaceful villagers were more afraid of the pillage of these petty robbers than the vicissitudes of regular wars. To check their criminal activities they were brought under the purview of Criminal Tribes Act XXVII of 1871 with subsequent occasional amendments. This mode of life became more and more difficult for them to practise as they were listed as a Criminal Tribe and were placed under police surveillance with the requirement that the habitual offenders should give their attendance at the Police Station daily. But the basic fallacy of the British policy was that of treating whole communities as criminal whereas only some of the members must have been habitual offenders, thereby condemning those persons of these communities who used to lead a normal, honest life. In effect, the C.T. Act reminded even those who wanted to make an honest living that they were criminals. Thus the Act of 1871 with subsequent amendments was responsible for their backwardness socially, educationally and economically as they were subjected—families or communities as a whole—to police surveillance and their movements were restricted. The best course would have been to tackle the problem of banditry

and robbery etc., at the individual level. This is also true of other communities listed as criminal tribes.

### III. Present Position of the Banjara :

After the independence of the country the government repealed the Criminal Tribes Act in 1949 and gave them a new status in the society and for ameliorative and advancement purposes, these communities came to be called denotified or ex-criminal tribes. Now they have new opportunities to work their way as equal participants in the socio-economic life of the country.

These days most of them have settled down to agriculture and wage-labour. They live always in quarters outside villages, since they believe that the crowing of the cock is a taboo to their patron god *Sevaya Bhaya*. Hence they believe that the rearing of fowl is defiling, though they do eat the fowl. While many derive their income from wage-labour, some of them own lands and a few have taken up services of school teachers, police constables, clerks and such other lower grade jobs. A few have attained coveted positions. Even to this day they have been preserving their ethnic exclusiveness by way of the typical dress of their women, their own dialect, and kinship organization though they are in contact with other Hindu castes and other religions in terms of religious pantheon, economic relations, world-view, recreation etc. Therefore Banjara may be called an *enclave community* (Piddington 1957:156-57) since they partly maintain socio-cultural isolation from other people though they live amidst them and are in marginal contact with them. They are extremely clanish and try hard to maintain the auto-image of their culture. They worship tribal gods of their own, though they also pay respect to gods of the great tradition like Tirupati Venkataramana. Because of the paucity of grazing grounds, these days, they are no more pastoralists, but they do rear a few cattle for the purpose of milk and agriculture. Nevertheless, they show their liking for cattle by a nostalgic reference to their tradition of great herdsmen. Their women, in addition to attending to the domestic work, gather fuel, and other forest products, while men are partly cultivators and partly wage earners.

The Banjara are generally of good stature, and of fair complexion. A typical Banjara is dolichocephalous, with oval face, black or brown eyes, long hair and straight nose (Nanjundayya and Iyer 1928:195). Both men and women are strong and are capable of much endurance. Women are active and good looking. The dress and ornaments of the women form a characteristic feature of the Banjaras as contrasted with South Indian dress. They wear a skirt (*lunga*) made of stout deep red, coarse, print-cloth embroidered in heavy patterns. The bodice (*kanchali*) is also elaborately embroidered and is open at the

back, where it is tied with coloured ribbons. A veil (*chatiya*) is also made of the same cloth, measuring about 5 feet and has usually an elaborately worked border. *Jhalaro* is the thick waist-band worked into the petia. Their jewels are numerous and include glass and plastic beads, besides those of brass and other metals. They wear profusely ivory bangles. In a few places, women have given up this traditional, gaudy, coarse cloth and have taken to finer variety of saris.

The ordinary dress for men is a dhoti and a shirt with a turban. The dress the women wear is common to several castes in Rajasthan and probably this indicates that Banjara came originally from Rajasthan. Banjara men, usually the priests and elders, wear the hair long, down to the neck, which is another custom of Rajputana. The Banjara speak a dialect of their own called "Banjari" which is similar to the Marwari dialect. But they are nearly always bilingual or multi-lingual since they have picked up the dominant regional language.

#### IV. The Economy of the Banjara:

What follows is based on the data collected during doctoral field study in March-August, 1967 in the Lamani settlement (*tanda*) of the composite village Shigigatti in Kalghatgi Taluk of Dharwar District. The tanda consists of 102 households while the multi-caste sector of the village consists of 56 households. Both are physically separated by a few yards. Both the settlements together have a primary school (upto IVth Std.), an unprotected pond for drinking water and a co-operative society. In the 5-member Managing Committee of the Co-operative Society there is a Lamani member. The composite village is served by a group village-panchayat and a branch post-office, two rice-cum-flour mills all of which are situated at a fairly large village, Muttigi, 4 furlongs away. Of the thirteen members of the group panchayat, two are Lamanis. There are six grocery shops and two tea-stalls in Muttigi, two small grocery-cum-tea-stalls in Lamani tanda, and three grocery-cum-tea-stalls in non-Lamani sector of Shigigatti. There is no facility of weekly market for these villages and the people have to go for the purpose either to Dharwar (14 miles) or to Kalghatgi (6 miles) on Tuesdays and or to Hubli (15 miles) on Saturdays. The two points for getting the motor transport facilities are at a distance of 3 and 6 miles. A Village Level Worker of the C.D.P. and a Field Assistant of the Health Department, stationed elsewhere visit these villages on official work. The same is true of Revenue Officials.

At the time of the study, there were 611 persons (323 males and 288 females) in the tanda, distributed over 102 households. The average size of households is thus 6 persons. Table No. 1 shows the Lamani population of the village according to age groups, sex, marital



TABLE No. 1.

## Population According to Agegroups, Sex, Marital Status and Literacy

Material Status Agegroups	Single		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Deserted		Total		Total		Grand Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
0-4	63	64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	63	64	—	—	127
5-9	54	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54	54	—	—	99
10-14	45	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	45	31	2	—	76
15-19	23	3	1	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	24	17	1	—	41
20-24	16	1	7	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	23	18	2	—	41
25-29	3	—	13	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	27	1	—	43
30-34	1	—	18	19	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	19	3	—	39
35-39	—	—	14	15	—	—	1	—	—	—	16	15	1	—	31
40-44	—	—	18	11	—	1	—	1	—	—	18	13	1	—	31
45-49	—	—	15	7	1	3	—	—	1	—	17	10	2	—	27
50-54	—	—	10	2	—	6	—	—	—	—	10	8	2	—	18
55-59	—	—	5	4	—	6	—	—	—	—	5	10	4	—	15
60 & above	—	—	10	—	2	11	—	—	—	—	12	11	1	—	23
					(95)	(90)									
Total	205	144	111	116	3	27	1	11	3	—	323	288	20	—	611
															20

Note: Figures in brackets refer to oldest individuals' actual ages.

status and literacy. The child-dependency ratio (number of children of 0-14 age group per 100 persons in the productive age-group of 15-59) for the population is 105.595 while the senility ratio (number of aged dependents of 60 years and above per 100 persons in productive age groups) is 8.041. The total dependency ratio works out to be 113.636. Thus there are more persons to be supported economically than there are persons who can earn. The sex ratio in the economically productive age groups of 15-59 is 919.463 while the general sex ratio is 891.641.

There is no instance of child marriage as it is proscribed by the Lamani. Girls are eligible for marriage only after they attain puberty and boys are married usually after the age of 20 years. In case of married persons, the Table No. 1 shows an excess of five women over men due to the fact that there are five bigamous marriages of which one is levirate marriage. There are more widows than there are widowers.

The Lamani of this area have not developed a liking for literacy. Of the total population of 611, only 20 males are literate in the sense that they possess elementary knowledge of reading and signing and have passed at least the primary IV Std. No female is literate. During the academic year 1966-67, 36 boys and 20 girls in the age group of 5-9 years from the tanda were under instruction as per the records of the school which teaches to up to the IV Std. But it is a moot question how many really attend the school or whether the school is run properly. The Lamani do not send their children to school because they need supplementary income from their children by way of assisting the family or working as annual servants elsewhere. Children also imitate the stealing habits of the parents.

#### **Sources of Livelihood:**

To-day, agriculture is the main stay of the Lamani of this village, whether it is owner-cultivation, tenant-cultivation, crop-sharing or agricultural wage-labour. The informants told me that about 50 years ago, it was the work in the forest and sale of produce from the forest that was their main-stay. When they lost their occupation of transporting, women took to agricultural wage-labour, and men adopted forest work and hunting as their avocation. This is confirmed by the fact that, according to the land revenue records, in 1917 only eight families owned 37.07 acres of land and practised agriculture. Of these eight families five families owned land within the village jurisdiction, whereas two families owned land in the adjoining village, Dhulikoppa and one family owned it both within the village and in the adjoining village. They had not yet extended their interest to the lands in the other surrounding villages. Their relative disinterest in cultivation is

also to be seen in the fact of many lands owned by others were lying fallow in these villages (number of survey numbers lying fallow in 1917-18: Shigigatti-16; Dhulikoppa-4; Hullambi (Nelli harvi)-15). Had they shown interest in cultivation, the fallow lands would have been given for cultivation on lease-basis. The small number of agricultural families 50 years ago is also to be explained partly in terms of the small size of the settlement itself, which consisted of 25-30 families.

It is only after the forests became scarcer and the forest administration stricter that the Lamani turned their interest towards agriculture and agricultural wage-labour. It is while working in the fields of non-Lamani peasants that the Lamani learnt the art of agriculture. A few who lived in large size joint families could save a little money after maintaining themselves and started purchasing lands whenever it came into the market. Moreover, the price of land was comparatively cheap. I noticed in the Land Records instances of purchase of land as follows:

Year	Area (in acres)	Amount (in Rs.)
1892	8-28	100-0-0
1897	10-11	28-0-0
1903	2-03	62-0-0
1918	22-07	150-0-0

Those who could not own the land, could still practise cultivation on crop-sharing or on lease-basis if they could spare a little money for investing in the purchase of bullocks, implements etc. And this kind of agriculture work was more remunerative than casual agricultural wage-labour.

Yet another variety of training in the agricultural practices and agrarian values was the system of working as annual servants (annual-contract labourers) in the houses of well-to-do, non-Lamani, traditional cultivators. Such annual servants are employed by those cultivators who can provide continuous and regular employment throughout the year either because they have big holdings or because they practise intensive farming requiring additional and regular supply of labour, or because there is no one in the house who can cultivate (e.g. widows) or, lately, because the land owner does not know cultivation but wants to run self-cultivation in order to resume possession of lands from tenants in view of recent tenancy legislation. Compared with casual day-labouring, this kind of maintaining annual servants is rare. Usually this servant (*Jitadalu*) does all types of farmwork and is available day and night. The contract is generally for one year and may be renewed if both the parties so desire. Sometimes these annual servants borrow large sums of money from their employers, and in such cases they have to remain in service till their whole debt is repaid.



Children are also employed on these terms, especially to watch and take care of the cattle, but women are never employed on these terms. Besides Lamani, other castes also work on these terms. A *Jitadalu*, besides his cash wage (in a few cases wage is also paid in kind), is provided with other facilities like food, accommodation, shoes, turban, blanket, tobacco etc. Sometimes a consolidated cash-wage is given and no other facilities are provided (Ona-Jit=dry-payment service). Normally, payment is made in instalments, but annual wage may also be paid in advance. In brief, the labourer comes to the house of the employer as if he is a member of the family with reference to his maintenance, work-obligation, and feelings of belonging in faction-fights in which his employer is involved. He is paid Rs. 300/- p.a. in addition to his maintenance and is supposed to work as a family member without any reference to hours of work i.e. he works more than a day-labourer who works for 8 hours with an hour's break in between for meal and rest. The day-labourer earns annually about Rs. 600/-, @ Rs. 2/- a day for an average 300-day working-year, since he does not work on market-days and festival days. The gross-earnings of an annual contract-labourer amount to Rs. 800/- to 900/- (Rs. 300/- emoluments + Rs. 400/- maintenance cost + Rs. 100-200/- contingent expenses). This seems to be reasonable since the annual servant is supposed to work more and the work calls for greater responsibilities; in fact it is considered too-exacting by the practitioners themselves. The net emoluments for boys vary from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200/- annually. As to how the Lamani annual servants conduct themselves, there are conflicting opinions of the employers. Some are said to be bad because they are lazy, irregular in turning up for work or some cut-short the period of contract, especially in cases of advance payment. Sometimes complaints about the employer are voiced: harsh treatment, inhuman standards of work, poor food-supply and living conditions, or discriminatory treatment as between members of the family and the servants. In other cases, the labourer is treated as a member of the family and in turn some servants reciprocate with sincere, hard work. Sometimes a servant who joins as a young man serves the same family for years, so that, he is finally helped to marry and start his new family. This is usually true in case of vagrant boys or orphans etc., who take up such service.

It is precisely here that an enterprising Lamani accumulates some savings to start as owner-cultivator or tenant. This kind of stay and work in the houses of advanced, peasant families generated the best acculturative adaptation among the Lamani. The annual servants not only learnt agricultural techniques, but also learnt the ways of life of the dominant Lingayat community by way of changes in the method of food preparation, speech and thought-patterns, values and beliefs

and world-view. In a way the whole community came under the impact of peasant way of life because even those who did not work as annual labourers worked either as casual day-labourer or fixed labourers (*Kattalu*) with the peasant castes like Lingayat, Maratha, Jain etc. The fixed labour is a system intermediate between casual wage-labour and annual contract labour. Here a man works as if a day-labourer, returning to his family every evening, but is assured a continuous service by a single family, payment being made weekly or monthly, without maintenance etc.

Informants say that as compared to the position, say 50 years ago, now the cooking of food is more refined and clean and they adopted not only the method of preparation of food, but also have incorporated new items of food dishes of the advanced castes. When they were nomadic transporters or when they had lost their traditional occupation and were dependent on forest work and hunting their communal solidarity was strong. Then their leader (*Nayak*) was all powerful politically and directed even economic activities of the *tanda*. He ordered when to set-out on banditry, hunting, fishing etc. With the economic emancipation of the Lamani into independent, individual family enterprise, the hold of the *Nayak* and his council of elders over the community has slackened. In the early days, they had a few costly household belongings like brass and copper vessels and most of the utensils consisted of earthen wares. The men abhorred annual servant-labour and it was the later pressing, economic need that forced them to accept it, because with the rising cost of living it was not possible to subsist only on the wages of women. Thus the Lamani men entered the labour force in the country-side.

With the adoption of agriculture, there was a rise in the standard of living which could be sustained by increasing income derived from agriculture and the imitation of the standard of living of the well-to-do peasant castes. Through the demonstration-effect of the pioneering Lamani cultivators, the non-cultivating Lamani also desired and tried to achieve the status of a cultivator. That is how the number of tenant cultivators among them increased by about the year 1930. The enterprising and lucky tenants amassed savings to purchase land for themselves. In this part of the country the prevalent form of land tenure is the *rayatwari* tenure which accounts for nearly 67.2% of occupied land and only 32.8% is under the non-rayatwari *inam* tenure (Government of Bombay 1959:340). The land assessment is directly payable to the govt. by the occupant starting from the days of original settlement of 1848. A modification of the rayatwari tenure—New Tenure—was introduced in 1901 which was applicable to new occupancies granted by the government. Under this tenure lands were granted at concessional rates of occupancy price plus the usual land revenue, only

to the *bonafide* cultivators belonging to backward classes, and that too on condition that the lands shall not be transferred or divided except with the permission of the revenue authorities. Ten Lamani families received grant of 73-19 acres of government land on new tenure basis, starting from the year 1953 to 1958 within the village limits of Shigigatti, Dhulikoppa and Arebasankoppa. Thus agriculture became the main occupation of the Lamani of this tanda in various forms: owner-cultivation, lease-cultivation, cropsharing and new tenure.

With this improvement in economic condition as compared to the past state of economy, their style of life started reflecting improvement by way of purchase of costly utensils and building of tiled houses in place of mudwalled huts, procuring of better bullocks etc., especially during the last 15-20 years. Out of 102 families, only 36 live in huts while 66 families live in tiled houses (21 Pucca+45 Kutcha). All families, except four, have their own dwellings. These four share accommodation with their relatives. This is a tremendous change from the nomadic petty-traders and transporters and the later bandits, hunters and wood-cutters. Today the needs and aspirations have increased but within a typically peasant-frame of mind with reference to this tanda. They do not want higher education, white-collar jobs or urban luxuries, but they are obsessed with the need of good land, better cattle and assured crops. This I would like to call the peasantizing process among the Lamani. Their hunger for land is intense as revealed in entreaties for grant of land. They are thoroughly sedentarized now. Asked if they would like to migrate to North Kanara district, where government was willing to grant them free land, they hesitated to leave the place and requested for the grant of whatever little unoccupied land was available in the neighbourhood of the village. In this respect the Lamani of this area are far more advanced as compared to the nomadic Banjaras of the Western Rajasthan who need a fresh orientation and persuasion to take up agriculture (Malhotra and Bose 1963: 78-80).

TABLE NO. 2.

## Interest of the Lamani in Lands in and around their Village (1966-67)

Name of the Village:	Owner Cultivation		Tenant Cultivation	
	Families	Area	Families	Area
1. Shigigatti	35	221-10	8	40-30
2. Dhulikoppa	16	75-14	4	10-00
3. Hullambi	7	15-02	3	9-35
4. Arebasankoppa	2	13-09	2	11-06
5. Muttagi	—	—	1	11-06
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>324-35</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>78-17</b>

Source: Land Records of the Revenue Dept.

Note: 40 Guntas = 1 acre.



Table No. 2 shows the interest of Lamani in owner cultivation and tenant cultivation during 1966-67. If the number of families that depend on agriculture now (64) is compared with the number of families that depended on agriculture in 1916-17 (8), we notice eight fold increase. Actually 64 families depend on agriculture while the Table shows a total of 78 families, because of the fact that some families practise both owner-cultivation and tenant-cultivation and a few families have interests in lands in more than one village. 60 families own and cultivate 324-35 acres: (average holding 5-16 acres); 18 families cultivate 78-17 acres on lease and crop-sharing basis. While in 1916-17 since few families had taken up agriculture the Lamani's interest in lands was limited to those within the village and in one neighbouring village. Over a period of 50 years, they have extended their interest in lands in five neighbouring villages, the only limit to this kind of extension being the physical distance from their settlement. The ownership of local lands forms 68.1 % of their total land ownership. There is no instance of non-cultivating ownership among the Lamani, where as this kind of land owning is to be found in case of other castes, especially the upper castes. Since the Lamani settlement came into existence in the present site later (between 1913-1917) than the multi-caste sector of the village, the Lamani not only could not get enough lands within the village limit but had to be content with the left-over lands of poor quality. Hence the search for available lands in the jurisdiction of other villages. Here also they could get hold of only left-over lands. Similarly, the people from other villages have interest in the lands of Shigigatti village limits. Even before the Lamani occupation, the people of other villages had occupied the lands of Shigigatti. There are myriad ways in which land changes hands and consequently people from many places develop interest in the lands of any village. Table No. 3 shows that the total arable area of Shigigatti (1055-26 acres) is shared by people belonging to 12 other places of varying distances of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to 200 miles. The table also indicates the number of families involved from each of these thirteen places according to non-cultivating ownership, owner-cultivation, and tenant cultivation. The order of the listing of villages is based on the extent of ownership of lands.

In spite of sharing by people of other places (40.18 %), more than half of the land within the village limits (627-09 acres or 59.82 %) is owned by the local people of the village. But among the local people, the distribution of lands as between Laman and Non-Lamani is unequal. The Lamani settlement consisting of 102 families owns only 221-10 (20.96 %) acres while the multi-caste remainder of the village consisting of 36 household, owns 410-09 (38.86 %), acres of land. This has consequently also led to unequal size of family-holdings of

TABLE NO. 3.

Arable Land Utilization of Shigigatti Revenue Village by Different Villagers (1966-67)

Name of the Village	<i>Non-Culti- vating owner.</i>		<i>Owner Cultivator</i>		<i>Tenant- Cultivator</i>	
	Families	Area	Families	Area	Families	Area
1. <i>a.</i> Shigigatti (Local) Multi-caste sector	2	4-10	36	405-39	12	57-12
<i>b.</i> Shigigatti (Local)						
Lamani Tanda	—	—	35	221-10	8	40-30
2. Muttagi (Half mile)	4	18-11	34	198-19	5	15-01
3. Dharwar (14 miles)	5	52-20	2	19-03	—	—
4. Dhummad (4 miles)	—	—	5	47-34	—	—
5. H. Honni-Halli (3 miles)	—	—	4	31-20	—	—
6. Shringeri Math (Two hundred miles)	1	13-07	—	—	—	—
7. Gambyapur (3 miles)	—	—	1	11-11	1	3-20
8. Gudihal (3 miles)	1	9-35	—	—	—	—
9. Mishrikoti (10 miles)	1	7-12	—	—	—	—
10. Gamanagatti (15 miles)	2	5-17	—	—	—	—
11. Hubli (15 miles)	1	3-20	—	—	—	—
12. Kalghatgi (6 miles)	—	—	1	2-27	—	—
13. Amargol (12 miles)	1	2-11	—	—	—	—
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>117-23</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>938-03</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>117-a3</b>

*Note:* Total arable land = 1055-26 acres.

lands. This inequality in the same village is the result of late arrival of the Lamani, the relatively recent interest of the Lamani in agriculture and the relative affluence of the non-Lamani which enables them to purchase land when it comes into market, inspite of the fact that the Lamani intensely desire land but often cannot realise their desire. Amongst the local land-owners who share the Shigigatti lands, the average ownership of land for non-Lamani is 10-32 acres while for the Lamani it is 6-13 acres. And in almost all cases, the quality of Lamani lands is comparatively poor.

This kind of land distribution also explains the need for and availability of agricultural wage-labour during the periods of heavy work in the fields. In the multi-caste sector of the village out of 56 households 48 depend primarily on agriculture and only 6 families depend primarily on wage-labour. On the contrary, in the Lamani settlement, 50 families depend primarily on agriculture while 14 families derive supplementary income from it. Most of the remaining families had to take recourse to wage-labour. Hence, the peasants requiring additional hands during periods of heavy work in the fields approach the

TABLE NO. 4.

## Family Types and Size

Family Type	Single member	Two member	Three member	Four member	Five member	Six member	Seven member	Eight & nine member	10-12 member	13-15 member	15-18 member	Total
Nuclear	4	5	8	14	13	8	6	8	2	—	—	68
Intermediate	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	3
Extended	—	1	—	4	4	4	5	4	6	2	1	31
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>102</b>

Note: Average size of the family: 6 Persons.



tanda for the purpose. This is how the landless and non-cultivating Lamani find employment in wage-labour throughout the year with the other peasant castes.

### **Income and Expenditure Pattern:**

Family is the unit of production and consumption, with an average of 6 persons per family. Table No. 4 shows the distribution of households by size within the range of the smallest single-member households and the largest 18 member household. Of the 102 households, 4 member-households form the largest number (18). 12 families have the average size; 54 exceed the average size. The nuclear family is the predominant type with 68 families out of 102. The meagre resources of the Lamani make it very difficult to maintain a large-size joint family, though Lamani have a strong patrilineal patrilocal slant. The crucial stage for joint family to divide will be the marriage of the son (or sons). The Lamani hold women as mainly responsible for the division, since they are outsiders who come from different families. In the developmental cycle of joint or extended family, it may be noted that, fraternally extended type is more fragile or unstable as compared to the paternal type, since it is highly unlikely that a son will ask for division with the father. Moreover, in majority of cases, immediately after marriage, the new couple establishes a new house by separating from the stem-family. A probable reason appears to be the lack of privacy to the new couple, as accommodation is very limited and without any partition within the hut. In this tanda 84 families stay in separate dwellings while only 18 families stay in composite dwellings.

In Table No. 5 an attempt is made to categorise the 102 families into income groups based on total income of the family against the major occupation of the family. But the total income itself is the result of the major source of income as well as one or more subsidiary sources of income that are listed in the Table. In case of total income groups, we find that a large number of families (51) lies within the annual income range of Rs. 1202 to 2400, while 26 families lie in the income brackets ranging from less than Rs. 400 etc., to 1200 p.a. and 25 families enjoy a fairly good income ranging from Rs. 2401 to Rs. 10,000 p.a.

The total income of the families varies according to the type of occupation (owner-cultivator earns more than tenant cultivator, who in turn is better-off than of wage-labourer); the quality of land cultivated and the related facilities like irrigation; the avenues of supplementary income from other sources; and the number of working population in the family etc. Given the same occupation, the big size joint family earns more than the elementary family. The Table also gives information on actual income brackets from the chief subsidiary

TABLE NO. 5.

Families According to total Annual Income Groups and Main Occupations as well as  
Principal Supplementary Occupation and Income therefrom (1966-67)

Income groups in Rs.	Types of Income	Upto 400	401- 500	501- 600	601- 700	701- 800	801- 900	901- 1000	1001- 1100	1101- 1200	1201- 1500
Occupations											
Agriculture	Total Suppl.	— 4	— 3	1 1	1 —	— 3	1 1	2 —	1 —	1 1	4 —
Wage Labour	Total Suppl.	1 14	1 8	1 4	1 3	1 2	2 1	2 —	8 —	1 1	11 1
Forest Work & Forest Produce	Total Suppl.	— 32	— 1	— —	— —	— 1	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
Loans	Total Suppl.	— 9	— 2	— 2	— —	— —	— —	— 3	— —	— —	1 —
Crafts (Carpentry)	Total Suppl.	— 1	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
Miscellaneous (Dairy pro- ducts interest on Loans Petty business sale of livestock etc.	Total Suppl.	1 1	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —	— —
Grand Total	Total Suppl.	2 61	1 14	2 7	2 3	1 6	5 2	4 3	9 —	2 2	16 1





TABLE NO. 6.

## Expenditure Pattern For 1966-67 (In Rs.)

Heads of Expenditure	Total for the settlement	Average Expenditure per family.
<i>I) Consumption expenditure:</i>		
1. Foodstuff (General, Veg. Pulses etc.)	91,905	901.029 (102)
2. Clothing	21,531	211.088 (102)
3. House building and Repair	4,963	150.394 ( 33)
4. Transport & Commn.	3,205	32.374 ( 99)
5. Health	5,210	80.154 ( 65)
6. Education	—	—
7. Fuel and Oils	4,795	47.475 (101)
8. Betel-nut and leaves, spices, Tabacco etc.	5,235	51.324 (102)
9. Beverage (toddy, wine tea, coffee)	5,125	51.250 (100)
Total of I (1-9)	141,969 ( 66.69%)	1,391. 85 (102)
<i>II) Productive Expenditure:</i>		
10. Implements, Labour employed Plough cattle, seeds and manure etc.	24,255	341.620 ( 71)
11. Taxes: Land Revenue	1,112	7.935 ( 62)
12. Land Rent Paid	3,250	232.143 ( 14)
Total of II (10-12)	28,617 ( 13.44%)	280. 56 (102)
<i>III) Expenditure on Comforts &amp; Luxuries:</i>		
13. Ornaments & foot wear	1,420	20.286 ( 70)
14. Toilets & Recreations	2,977	29.186 (102)
Total of III (13-14)	4,397 ( 2.07%)	43. 11 (102)
<i>IV) Expenditure on Social &amp; Religious purposes:</i>		
15. Contributions & figts	4,336	44.245 ( 98)
16. Litigation	1,270	55.217 ( 23)
17. Life cycle rituals & religious rituals	7,123	103.514 ( 35)
Total of IV (15-17)	12,729 ( 5.98%)	124. 79 (102)
<i>V) Investment Expenditure:</i>		
18. Purchase of utensils & furnitures	576	20.571 ( 28)
19. Repaymen <sup>t</sup> of debt and interest	14,971	199.613 ( 75)
20. Purchase of Milch cattle etc.	755	250.167 ( 3)
21. Savings, Loans Advanced, Shares in Co-operative etc.	8,872	112.344 ( 79)
Total of V (18-21)	25,174 ( 11.83%)	246. 80 (102)
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>	<b>2, 12,886 (100.00%)</b>	<b>2,087. 12 (102)</b>

occupation of each family, in addition to the major sources of income. Of the total 102 families, 50 families derive their major income from agriculture while 14 families depend on it as the chief supplementary source to support their major income from other sources like wage-labour. The next important means of livelihood is different kinds of wage-labour which maintains 43 families as primary source and 35 families as chief supplementary source. Most of the cultivators of small holdings go for wage-labour in the off-season. Similarly, if the joint family is big enough the surplus family-members join wage-labour team. The other avocations like work relating to forests, crafts, petty-shop-keeping, sale of livestock etc., support 9 families as major sources of livelihood, while 34 families depend on forest as chief subsidiary income. The poverty of the tanda is also to be discerned from the fact that 2 families depend on loans to meet their major requirements while 17 families had to borrow substantially to tide over financial difficulties. The whole settlement can be visualised as agricultural population since there is no one from this tanda in the services or in industrial employment. The range of occupational mobility is limited in view of limited avenues of occupations. The average income per family works out at Rs. 2087.12 p.a. and the per capita income is Rs. 348.42.

50 years ago, only 8 families out of the total of 30 families had taken up agriculture. The remaining families earned their livelihood of wage-labour (in case of women) and forest work and hunting (in case of men). Now 64 out of 102 families have adopted agriculture. The importance of forests in the economy of the Lamani is dwindling since the area under forest has shrunk and the existing forest has been declared as reserved forest. But the role of wage-labour continued as usual with one significant difference that men also have joined the labour force.

The overall state of the economy of the Lamani is poor since the per capita income per day is less than a rupee. Here it will be of interest to analyse the expenditure pattern of the poor economy. Table No. 6 shows the heads of expenditure, total expenditure for the settlement and the average expenditure per family. The bulk of the expenditure is on consumption (66.69 %) of which most is required for food, clothing and the related items while very little is available for the needs of a better life-items like transport and communication, health and education. It is not surprising that the Lamani of this village do not spend anything on education, since they do not aspire for higher education and a few requirements of local elementary schooling are met by the government. The Lamani need comparatively more food since they are engaged in strenuous labour. The non-Lamani peasants make fun of the Lamani as great eaters. They

need atleast 3 meals a day. They are very fond of liquor and toddy and the community as a whole in the region was known for illicit distillation during the days of prohibition. At one stage the oppression of the police was so intolerable that they voluntarily abstained from distillation and enforced the ban through the local-council. They satisfied their need by drinking when they visited weekly markets. It is to be noted that only 33 families have spent on transport, indicating that many families have not visited outside places frequently beyond the weekly market places to which they treck on foot. A-few may also go to fairs and pilgrimages. The other reason for travel to and correspondence with other places is the kinship obligations.

In case of productive expenditure including the land revenue and the land-rent, a negligible part of the total expenditure (13.44 %) is spent. Very little is spent on productive investments like better seeds, manure, or implements. It does not mean that the Lamani are not aware of the efficacy of better methods; their greatest handicap is the poverty and the lack of better grade lands and irrigation facilities. Four families which are fortunate in having better soil and assured irrigation do make use of better methods of agriculture. And there are many handicaps in availing the facilities provided by the C.D. Programme and allied government agencies due to the ignorance and poverty of these people. The low standard of living of the Lamani is again to be seen in the paucity of funds for the minimum comforts and luxuries of life. Only 2.07 % of the total expenditure is available for these items. Even foot-wear is not available for all the families. A few of them visit cinemas and dramas when they visit market places or cities. While all the families need washing soap for washing clothes, only a few have taken to the use of toilet soap for bath.

An interesting feature of expenditure pattern of the Lamani is their expenditure for socio-religious purposes and this head claims even more (5.98 %) than the head of comforts and luxuries (2.07 %). The Lamani still retain a streak of tribal equalitarianism. Whenever social or religious ceremonies and rituals are arranged, all the families contribute equally, irrespective of their economic standing, and except for ritual precedence for certain individuals nobody among them is given a favoured treatment just because one is rich. The bulk of this head of expenditure is in the nature of contingent expenses which the concerned families had to spend irrespective of whether one can afford. Occasions of life-cycle significance or crisis, namely birth, puberty, betrothal, marriage, death etc., had to be observed in the way held befitting by the community, even if by borrowing money. Then there are pilgrimages to the shrines of family-deity, patron-saints, so also the annual and seasonal sacrifices and offerings to the family and local gods of all sorts. On their march from tribalism to a peasant way of



life it is *not a case of substitution* of tribal pantheon with peasant pantheon *but a case of addition*. They have added to their traditional pantheon the gods and godlings peculiar to the agricultural community, with concomitant changes in their belief and value systems. It is no wonder that a good part of their meagre income is spent on these increased rituals and ceremonies.

The investment expenditure ranks third in terms of amounts involved (11.83%). More than half of it is needed to pay back the loans taken and the interest thereon which is exorbitant. The co-operative has touched only the fringe of their credit need. The membership from the tanda since the inception of the cooperative society in 1950 has remained at the constant figure of 41 out of the total membership of 173. None of the Lamani member has deposited any money in the society; only they have paid the share-capital without which one cannot become a member. Only about a third of this head of expenditure is invested in productive channels like purchase of milch-cattle, savings in cash, shares in co-operative society, and loans advanced to neighbours.

The aim of the paper has been to show the role of the historical and socio-cultural factors in shaping the changing economy of the Lamani. It is also true that changes in the economy affect the socio-cultural life. The investigation is still in progress.

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## THE ECONOMICS OF HANDLOOM INDUSTRY AT ILKAL\*

V. B. ANGADI

**I**t is observed that independent master weavers owning 3 or 4 looms and hiring 2 or 3 labourers record the highest earnings followed by those working for the master weavers. For, his earning includes his wage for weaving plus earning from his looms.

### Marketing and Sales

The total sale value of all types of goods at Ilkal amounts to Rs. 2,00,00,000. Of the total sale value 95 % accounts for the sale value of different varieties of sarees and the rest accounts for the other types of goods like khans, etc. It seems that there is little difficulty in disposing of goods in this handloom industry if marriages and festivals occur in large numbers and if good harvest season occurs in that region. The reasons are, firstly, traditional women in surrounding villages are in the habit of wearing Ilkal sarees. Secondly, in the whole Maharashtra State and in some parts of Mysore, persons attach special and sacred importance to these sarees specially on the occasions like marriage and festivals. For instance, in the years 1967-68 and 1968-69 the sale of sarees was considerably large owing to a large number of marriages.

65 % of the total produce is sold in Maharashtra state. Only 10 % of the total output of sarees and khans is sold in the local market. Remaining produce is sold in some districts of Mysore State.

### Extent of Competition

The handloom industry is highly competitive in the sense that all small establishments are competing with each other, in weaving and in obtaining raw-materials from master-weavers. The final products are sold in the regulated market which consists of regular shops of middle men-cum-master weavers. To these merchant-cum-master weavers, weavers are obliged to sell their final products. They hold the monopoly power over the handloom industry. They, in fact, control and determine the output of the handloom industry.

Middlemen purchase sarees in the slack season and sell them in the brisk season. The weavers have to sell their products at the prices dictated by the merchants. During the slack season the prices are kept low when they purchase. They stock the sarees on a large scale with a view of disposing them during brisk season. Moreover they go on rejecting sarees after sarees on very flimsy grounds during slack season

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and thereby creating unfavourable condition for sale. The weaver with his poor bargaining power and staying strength is compelled to sell his product at any price that is offered to him. Under Rokada system and in case of independent weavers such practices prevail. Even cooperative societies are also selling their products to these middlemen since there are no sales depots or emporia to sell them. A large number of middlemen are involved in the sale of the products.

The marketing practices of traders are very peculiar one in the sense that they sell mostly on credit basis. One or two clerks known as 'Deshavari clerks' are appointed in every shop to fetch orders from different places and for forcing repayment of the credit. This type of marketing involves huge capital. It is only advantageous for big capitalists but not for the small ones. Here in Ilkal a few traders-cum-master-weavers control the whole handloom industry in respect of production and marketing. There is no planned production and marketing. There are whole-salers and master-weavers who form their own expectations of future demand. Their activities are not at all coordinated. But there is some rough estimation on the basis of past experiences. It is therefore likely that the bulk of the produce which is stocked may be sold or may not be sold entirely. If the demand does not come up to the expectation, the extra output is sold at a lower price. Production declines leading to unemployment and lower wages. The extent of reduction in wage is greater than the profit. On the contrary, if demand rises considerably, higher prices will be fixed. Production activity increases. Consequently employment and wages are high. Extent of rise in wage is less than the profit margin resulting from higher prices. Thus, the problem of marketing is therefore inextricably linked with the production, income and employment. If the conditions of actual producers are to be improved, a better organization is necessary both for production and marketing.

Usually prices of Ilkal sarees are higher than mill-made sarees. It is due to a large row of middlemen, shortage of raw-materials and disorganized production and marketing. All these have restricted the output of this handloom industry. Besides, the output of handloom industry tends to be limited by the competition from large-scale manufacturers of sarees. That Ilkal handloom industry cannot withstand the competition from the large scale manufacturers is due to:

- 1) high prices of raw-materials,
- 2) lack of attractive designs and colours of the sarees,
- 3) lack of organised production,
- 4) lack of advertisement,
- 5) lack of organised marketing,
- 6) large row of middlemen,
- 7) low quality.



### **Inputs**

Raw-materials and labour constitute the major inputs in the handloom industry. The outlay on raw-materials in the total costs of production comes to about 65 %, weaving charges, other charges constitute approximately 35 %. Of the total wage bill nearly 40 % is the share of outside labourers and the remainder is that of family members. The charges for preliminary processes amount to 13.4 %; of this total, 5.2 % being the share of the outside labourers and 8.3 % that of the family labourers. Other expenses on repairs etc. constitute 5 %.

### **Problem of Finance**

Most of the weavers are not in a position to purchase the raw materials with their own funds at the best market price. Those who are able to purchase raw-materials have to face the problem of marketing of final product. So at present almost all weavers wish to be in the Mungada or Satta system accepting advances or credits from the master-weavers. When raw materials are purchased on credit, usually the higher prices are to be paid by the weavers. At times of supplying credit or raw-materials the master weavers compel the weavers to sell their finished products to them at the pre-determined prices. 80 % of the financial requirements of the weavers are met by the master-weavers. Remaining percentage of the requirements is met either by, relatives or by money lenders. The merchants-cum-master-weavers resort to banks such as Syndicate Bank, Urban Co-op. Bank and the Sangli Bank in times of stringency. To a large extent indigenous bankers and money lenders finance these merchants in times of difficulties. Usually they rely more on their funds and on friends and relatives.

The above observation leads to conclude that there is urgency of re-organization of the industry both in the field of marketing and of credit. Even though there are producer's cooperatives they cannot compete with the master-weavers in respect of financing and marketing. The membership of the cooperative societies is more or less constant in one society and is declining rapidly in case of other societies. Generally, the number of looms working for cooperative societies is continuously falling. The progress made by them is not satisfactory. In short, the cooperative movement has failed to achieve its desired goals in this industry. Therefore, practical and workable scheme of cooperative organization suitable for the prevailing conditions in the industry should be taken into full account.

From time immemorial the Ilkal handloom industry has been surviving, enjoying sometimes prosperity and at other suffering from adversity. It is however observed that there has been generally a stagnation in the handloom industry. During the last two wars, spurt in

the putput and employment occured. Employment and establishment of looms increased considerably. After termination of two World Wars the recession and ultimately depression or adversity in the output and employment occured in the handloom industry. The competition from mills has also increased considerably thereby leading to further reduction in demand for sarees. All this resulted in reduction of employment and output.

It is only recently that a recovery in the handloom industry has been recorded; some innovations have taken place in the industry. The weavers have begun to use art-silk, to a large extent in place of pure silk. In place of pit throw-looms now pit-fly shuttles are used. Some changes have been introduced in the process of dying. Some new patterns and designs are also to be found. Various measures in Five Year Plans, the establishments of cooperatives indirectly helped the industry. Improvement in tools suitable of this industry is still badly needed to increase the efficiency.

#### **Under-employment and Surplus Capacity:**

Full capacity output and full employment are the indices of stability of an establishment. In this sense only a small percentage of total establishments are in stable conditions. In case of large number of establishments under Mungada system, independent-weaver system and under cooperative fold, there will be idle capacity and under-employment of units. Female labourers and hired labourers are found underemployed specially in slack season. The reasons for working at less than full capacity are: 1) lack of fund, 2) lack of finance, 3) disorganisation in production and marketing, 4) sickness among labourers, 5) lack of raw-materials, 6) human factors, 7) limited market and fluctuations in market conditions, 8) seasonality, 9) lack of availability of raw materials.

#### **Human Factors**

The human factors found in this industry account to a considerable extent for the stagnation and other problems. All measures to improve the conditions of labour and to develop the industry have met with little success owing largely to the nature of human resources. Unless there is a change in motivation of all types of weavers no amount of effort will improve the conditions of weavers, and eliminate the stagnation in the industry. Labour class is ignorant, illiterate and is a slave of traditions and customs. Consequently there is no response for improvements. New techniques and cooperative movement have not attracted them. Labourers are too much extravagant. They are slaves of a bundle of bad habits. As a result, 80 % of them are ailing, they cannot pay proper attention to their family life. They are least

bothered about sanitation and diet. Hence, almost all weavers are suffering from ill health. Because of their extravagacy during marriages and festivals and also due to unnecessary expenses in daily life, 95 % of them are suffering from indebtedness. Most of the weavers are lacking good human qualities like sincerity, honesty, industriousness. Absence of such qualities affects adversely the production and its quality. There is no labour organisation performing fraternal and militant functions. The reasons for this seem to be: weavers of different communities, illiteracy, ignorance and so on. The majority of weavers belong to Devang community, next comes Sali community. Other communities like Andrians, Muslims, Lingayats and some backward class communities constitute minority. Following factors are working against any improvement:

- i) Dishonest members,
- ii) Self-interested leaders,
- iii) Lack of strong leadership,
- iv) Malpractices of responsible persons and weavers,
- v) Lack of finance,
- vi) Ignorance and illiteracy,
- vii) Joint family system,
- viii) Lack of use of improved techniques.

All measures in our Plans to uplift the handloom industry have been met with little success largely due to these irrational human factors. Therefore, prior importance must be given to bring about a change in weaver's motivation suitable for the present circumstances.

### **Conclusion—Problems—Solutions—Policy Prescriptions**

An attempt is made to pin-point the problems faced by the Ilkal handloom industry and to suggest solutions and necessary policy needed for the development of the industry.

Following are some of the chief problems faced by the handloom industry at Ilkal.

1) **Raw-materials:** Difficulty is faced in securing required quality and quantity of raw-materials at reasonable price. Complete dependence on master weavers for raw-materials is pursued.

2) **Finance:** Non-availability of short and long credit at reasonable interest to meet artisans' operational cost and complete dependence on local money lenders, pathans, and middlemen-cum-master-weavers are some of the serious problems.

3) **Equipment and technique:** Adherence to obsolete tools and equipments and more respect for hereditary skill and technique than improved scientific and technical knowledge are some of the common features of this industry.



4) **Organisation of industry:** Improper organization in production and marketing is widely observed.

5) **Marketing:** Dominance of middlemen-cum-master-weavers and their exploitative practices prevail in the area.

6) **Low-quality:** Low quality, unattractive designs and patterns are discouraging features of the industry.

7) **Labour:** Low wages, irregular employment, seasonal demand for sarees and absence of trading facilities are undesirable elements.

8) **Human factors:** Illiteracy, low standard of living, low standard of life affect efficiency of human workers.

9) Need for scientific research and technical training is imminent.

10) **Exports:** No efforts to export sarees to foreign markets are made with zeal.

11) **Propaganda:** Neither merchants' community nor government has made any effort to popularise sarees in other markets by extensive propaganda.

### **Solutions**

Solution for the problem of getting required raw materials at reasonable price lies in creating well-developed craft-societies. Such societies have succeeded in meeting raw-material requirements in some of the European countries. Here also such societies will definitely solve this problem provided they are organised on practical lines. In addition, cooperative spinning mill must be established at Ilkal, so that demand for raw-materials not only at Ilkal but also in surrounding weaving centres can be met with.

One of the major problems of Ilkal handloom industry seem to be the shortage of finance. The District Industrial Cooperative Bank at Bagalkot grants only short term loans. But availability of long term loan is more necessary for the industry at Ilkal. So, immediate arrangement must be made to advance long term loans at subsidised rate of interest. It may be able to reduce the intensity of the problem. State government should lend long term loans recoverable with easy instalments at a minimum rate of interest instead of wasting lot of funds in giving rebates etc., which does not seem to help this industry to make permanent arrangements for improvement.

Improved techniques, must be adopted so that competitive position of the handloom industry will be strengthened. Unfortunately no considerable improvements are made in the techniques and tools suitable for this industry. Adequate publication and demonstration must be undertaken by the State in respect of designs, colours etc.

There are hardly two opinions about the significance of reorganising the handloom industry on cooperative lines. There are already,

six cooperative societies at Ilkal. The object of organising the entire industry on co-operative lines has failed due to several reasons such as:

- 1) Cooperative societies are not financially strong enough.
- 2) Dealings of master-weavers-cum-middlemen are more attractive and they lend money to weavers for all purposes including social occasions such as marriage, festivals etc.
- 3) Principles of cooperation are unintelligible to many weavers who are mostly illiterate.
- 4) Lack of effective management and failure to translate the theories into practice are also hinderances.
- 5) Lack of strong and efficient leadership. The effective propaganda by state to enlarge the cooperative organization should be made. In addition, efforts for their stabilisation must also be made. The stabilisation of cooperative society depends on lines such as: i) Government should create legal, economic and political climate to make cooperatives to stand on their own feet. ii) extensive training should be imparted to co-operative officials. iii) all types of weavers, master-weavers, dealers-cum-master-weavers should be invited into co-operative association by making cooperative societies more attractive, iv) due merciless punishment to these who are indulging in mal-practices should be practised.

Unless co-operatives are successful, permanent improvement in the industry and elimination of middlemen are not possible.

Since reorganization of industry on co-operative lines takes a long time, at present it is essential:

- 1) To encourage establishment of factories (sheds) both big and medium sizes, under private sector; this will solve to a great extent the problem of sanitation, health, efficiency, quality etc.

- 2) It is essential to make the Merchants' Association more effective by taking following steps:

- a) All big merchants must become the members of Merchants' Association.

- b) The Association must pass a resolution that (i) no merchant should indulge in selling goods on very long term credit (ii) the reasonable price for sarees must be prescribed by the associations, (iii) quality must be checked up by the expert body appointed by the Association, (iv) propaganda must be undertaken, (v) reasonable wages must be fixed by the body, (vi) collective efforts must be made to get sufficient raw materials at reasonable rate.

Attractive designs and patterns suitable for the modern conditions should be prepared. Colour of sarees which is, sometimes uncertain must be guaranteed.

The conditions of labourers are precarious. They do not receive fair remuneration. Wages are more or less fixed and do not vary with the variation in cost of living. Government has fixed minimum wages in many industries but it has not done so in this industry. The minimum wage at a level that guarantees the comparable standard of living must be fixed on the basis of careful study of the nature of work. The technical school must be opened here to impart technical education to weavers on modern lines. Research institution must be established to undertake research in designs, patterns, techniques, tools etc., suitable for this industry. Motivation of weavers and master weavers should be changed by appropriate measures. Then only other efforts will bear fruits. Extensive formal education and technical training facilities must be available easily to weavers' community. Government should undertake propaganda of these sarees both in domestic markets and in foreign markets by conducting fairs, publications and so on.

Overall industrial policy of the state has recognised the significant role of handloom industry. As such, under the Policy Programmes consisting of the approaches viz., (i) protective and (ii) developmental, a number of facilities are made available to the handloom industry. In particular, adequate attention is not given to the Ilkal handloom industry. Supply of raw-materials at reasonable rate is not undertaken. Sufficient financial aid is not given. No substantial help is extended in marketing of its goods. Developmental programmes such as provision of improved techniques and tools suitable for this industry, provision of raw materials at reasonable rate required by this industry, advertisement and so on are not sufficiently made available to this industry. If proper attention is now paid to its development by providing required facilities it can provide the surplus for further investment; it can minimise the incidence of unemployment and under-employment and can increase the production and sale of sarees. Further it can effect equitable distribution of wealth and economic power in this part of the state.

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## GANDHIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

S. Y. GUBBANAVAR

A quarter of a century India attained her independence Mahatma Gandhi took over the leadership of the national movement and for nearly thirty years shaped the course of India's history and left an indelible imprint on the public life of India. Rightly has he been called the "Father of a Nation". Gandhian thought is the most original contribution of India to the development of political thought and practice. Thus Gandhiji has secured a permanent place in the history of modern political thought.

He has no systematic political theory as we find in the case of great political thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx and others. In this sense he is not a political philosopher. He was first and foremost a 'political practitioner'. As he himself once said "My life is my message".

Gandhiji did not present systematic political thought. His philosophy has to be derived from a large number of stray passages in his speeches, writings, statements, interviews and letters strewn over a period of nearly half a century. Apart from autobiography and his articles and letters, Gandhiji has written nearly twenty-three books on various social and political problems of India.

Though first and foremost a freedom-fighter, Gandhiji was concerned with the fundamental problems of the state and citizens. Some of his views are quite original and hence are worthy of consideration. On the eve of Gandhi centenary celebrations, Mr. U Thant commenting on Gandhiji's views, said that "many of his teachings have universal application and eternal validity". Gandhiji has expressed his views on various religious, social, economic and political problems of India. But as students of political science, we are mainly concerned with his views on political matters.

To understand Gandhiji's philosophy, it is necessary to know the various influences under which he came during his early and later life. His religious background gives us the clue to his doctrines of truth, non-violence and means. Ahimsa is one of the cardinal principles of Hinduism. Jainism, Buddhism, which extol ahimsa, had influenced him. Later he came under the influence of the teachings of Jesus Christ. He called Jesus "the greatest satyagrahi". Other influences were Tolstoy's book "The Kingdom of God is within you"; John Ruskin's "Unto this last", and Theoreau's "Essay on civil disobedience".

One of the characteristic features of Gandhiji's philosophy is that it is based on principles of religion and morality. Since his aim was to moralise man and society, he found it difficult to separate religion from politics. "His political philosophy and political technique are only corollaries of his religious and moral principles; for him politics bereft of religion is a death trap because it kills the soul; for politics like other human activities must be governed either by religion or by irreligion. Without the moral basis supplied by religion, life would be a mere maze of sound and fury signifying nothing"<sup>1</sup>

In Gandhian thought 'means and ends' are convertible terms. They are so closely related, that the end grows out of the means. To attain a good end bad means can not be used. He likens the means to a seed and the end to tree.<sup>2</sup> That is why that state can not attain the ideal state of Gandhiji, (which is non-violent democratic) as long as the means are attained with violence. He used to say "for me ahimsa comes before swaraj". Truth is the end, ahimsa the means. Since he asserts that end grows out of means, means comes to acquire greater significance and consequently cannot be separated from the end.

The distinct contribution of the Mahatma to political thought is his philosophy of 'non-violence'. Non-violence according to Bapu is the heart of all religions. Ahimsa is truth itself; its very soul, and its maturest fruit. Positively it means avoiding injury to anything on earth in thought, word and deed,<sup>3</sup> and it should be at the root of every action of man. It is love in largest sense, even for the evil doer. Non-violence cannot be imposed from above, because it would be against the very spirit of non-violence. It has to evolve from the individuals on voluntary basis. Truth and ahimsa are like two sides of a coin; both are inseparable. In a word, non-violence apart from God is without any potency. Gandhiji distinguishes three levels of non-violence.

1. Non-violence of the brave
2. Non-violence of the helpless
3. Non-violence of the coward

Another unique and distinct contribution of Gandhiji is his 'doctrine of satyagraha'. This he evolved as a way of resisting evil and injustice by love, voluntary suffering and self-purification by appealing to the divine spark of the opponent. The literal meaning of Satya-

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1. Gopinath Dhavan – *The Political Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi*, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad 1957, P. 38.
  2. *Hindu Swaraj*, P. 60.
  3. *Young India*, Sept. 13, 1928.



graha is "holding on to truth".<sup>4</sup> In common parlance it is interpreted as non-violent direct action. Further satyagraha should not be confused with 'passive resistance'. The two differ fundamentally. Briefly it can be said that satyagraha is dynamic, while passive resistance is static. Satyagraha acts positively and suffers with cheerfulness, while passive resistance acts negatively and suffers reluctantly. Moreover, passive resistance is offered in a spirit of weakness. The technique of satyagraha may take the form of:

1. Non-co-operation (Hartal, Picketing etc.)
2. Civil disobedience
3. Hijarat
4. Fasting
5. Strike

Gandhiji has his own views as regards 'property and trusteeship'. Property is a social product. Since property cannot be socialised without violence, the least that can be done is to lay down the rule that property is a trust and the holders of property are trustees answerable to society. The state is entitled to confiscate property by the application of minimum violence, the trust is not property discharged by trustees. If there was to be non-possession trusteeship and if bread-labour were to be practised, it would lead to economic equality. Gandhiji realised that absolute equality was not possible. Gandhiji's concept of trusteeship provides means of transforming present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one. It does not recognize private ownership of property except as much as permitted by society.

What was Gandhiji's attitude towards 'state'? Gandhiji as is well known, was a philosophical anarchist, who ideally speaking repudiates the state on historical, ethical and economic grounds. The compulsive nature of state authority takes away the moral value of individual's action. The state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form; since it is a soulless machine it can never be weaned from violence which is its very existence. There is also a danger that it might destroy individuality which lies at the root of all progress.

The state for Gandhiji is stateless democracy, the state of enlightened anarchy, where social life has become so perfect as to be self-regulated. "In such a state every one is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. In a stateless non-violent society there will be no police, no law courts, no heavy transport centralized production. Willing

4. B. S. Sharma, *Gandhi as a Political thinker*, Indian Press Publications Private Ltd. 1956. P. 56.

submission to social restraint for the sake of the well-being of the whole society constitutes a sure social bond. Gandhiji held that, "that state is perfect and non-violent where the people are governed the least."

Democracy as it practised in Western countries never appealed to him. "Western democracy as it functions to-day is diluted Nazism or Fascism. . . ." <sup>5</sup> he wrote. He wanted India to evolve true democracy by giving up violence in all spheres of life.

The ideal democracy was to be a federation of self sufficing and self governing satyagrahi village communities. Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the condition of dignified and peaceful existence. Referring to the democratic rural communities he writes, ". . . every village be a republic panchayat having full powers. It follows therefore that every village has to be self sustained and capable of managing its affairs even to the extent of defending itself against the world". Thus ultimately, it the individual who is the unit.

The study of Gandhiji would be incomplete if his concept of 'sarvodaya' is omitted. Gandhiji coined this word in 1904 and it means "uplift of all", or welfare of all. Self-sacrifice is the essence of Sarvodaya. Satyagraha and ahimsa are the foundation of sarvodaya raj. Its citizens are to be of lofty character; each one lives for the other; no vices or hatred. It stands for national unity and condemns provincialism. Thus, sarvodaya is a movement which seeks to realize Gandhian ideals.

Writing on Gandhian views on classes and stateless society some have mistakenly called him 'neo-marxist'. Hence, it is necessary to understand Gandhiji correctly. Mashruwala, in his book *Gandhi and Marx* writes, "It often been said that Gandhi was a communist minus violence; this is not quite correct. The difference between the two philosophies manifests itself in their political and economic ideas. Marx puts forth the theories of class war. . . , As against this Gandhian theories of Varna dharma, satyagraha and arbitration, decentralisation etc. There is no room for violence in Gandhian philosophy. The means have to be good. Hence, it is not correct to call Gandhiji a Marxist. It is to misunderstand him and his philosophy.

The 'influence of Gandhian thoughts and ideas on the world' in general and on India in particular, has been great. People suffering under foreign domination in Asia and Africa have derived much inspiration from Gandhian technique of satyagraha. In particular, the South-East Asian countries have great respect to Mahatma and his teachings. In the United States the late Dr. Martin Luther King

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5. *Hind Swaraj*, P. 10.

Jr. was an ardent follower of Gandhiji's techniques in his fight for civil rights to negroes. For the first time in history of the world he has shown how even an unarmed nation can make war of course, non-violently to win freedom. He has thus given to the world what has been a desideratum for long, a moral equivalent of war.

Coming to India, Gandhian principles form the warp and woof of political, social and cultural fabric of independent India. As the father of the nation he wielded great influence on the making of the constitution. It is full of his ideas and views. For example, the directive principles of State policy, the principles which the state is called upon to follow to ensure equal rights to men and women for adequate livelihood, distribution of material resources to observe the common good; measures against women and child labour; his views on village panchayats, free and compulsory education for children, prohibition, decentralization, secularism, helping the weaker sections of society—all these ideals were dear to Gandhiji's heart and they have been incorporated in the constitution.

#### **Evaluation:**

It has already been stated that Gandhiji was the most pre-eminent political thinker in modern times to build his political philosophy on religious and moral foundations. Hence his is a "spiritualized politics"

Secondly, Gandhiji has the unique distinction of presenting to his fellow countrymen and to the world at large, his novel ideas and technique to fight against tyranny and exploitation. The technique of satyagraha is the unique and distinct contribution of Gandhiji to the political philosophy. Under his leadership India was the first country to try non-violent resistance on a nation wide scale.

The political awakening brought about by satyagraha has quickened the pace of national life in other spheres also. Thus women have been emancipated; untouchability seems to be on the verge of collapse and caste restrictions have lost some of their rigidity.

The question often asked is: how far Gandhiji's views are practical and to what extent have they been realised in India? As regards the practicability of his teachings, Gandhiji himself admits that his ideals were too high to be achieved in this mortal life and so, he exhorted to constantly strive after those ideals.

It must be admitted that some of his views are not very practical. The Mahatma trusted too much on the good side of human beings and was too optimistic. His views on non-violence cannot be accepted when the question of defence comes. There was aggression on India by China in 1962 and by Pakistan in 1965.



Now as to the second query, that is, how far Gandhian ideals have been realized, all admit that the Indian Republic has not been able to adhere to the Gandhian concept of the state in many respects. This is because we have introduced the parliamentary system of govt. which implies power politics, political parties and their leaders are enamoured of power. All this is against Gandhian democracy. K. M. Pannikar in his book, "Foundation of Modern India", examines whether the govt. follows Gandhian principles or not. He observes that several achievements of India after independence are based on other than Gandhian principles e.g., large scale industrialization. He remarks that we no longer hear of ahimsa or non-violence, principles dear to Gandhiji. Various political leaders show a tendency to degrade satyagraha by invoking its name to cover every kind of ridiculous agitation. Fasting for political motives too has become common. The fate of prohibition still hangs in the balance. Sardar Pannikar notes with sorrow, "It is obvious that India is now developing along lines which the Mahatma had opposed during his entire life time".

In the same book, K. M. Pannikar says that some of Gandhian ideas are still in force, e.g., his ideas on social justice and untouchables still have influence on the people. Again, the emphasis on Panchayat Raj is a part of Gandhiji's inheritance. Therefore, "briefly, it may be said that some of the teachings of Gandhiji passed into the general traditions of India, but strangely enough not those to which he attached the greatest importance—ahimsa, satyagraha, voluntary suffering etc. His successors have taken over only as much of his teaching as can be accommodated in an industrial society, in which rural life itself would be urbanized to a large extent and panchayats while entrusted with wide power would be integrated with national life."

To conclude Gandhiji like Plato was an idealist. His ideals remain immortal. Humanity has to keep them as guidelines. Gandhiji's example is the best contribution to the world.

## BALLĀLA III AND VIJAYANAGARA

P. B. DESAI

**H**oysaḷa Ballāḷa III is an eminent and colourful personality in the history of India. His long reign of about half a century (1291-1342 A.D.) was eventful in many respects. It was during his rule that the great world famous empire of Vijayanagara took its birth. We propose to briefly deal with in this paper<sup>1</sup> the relationship of this Hoysaḷa ruler with Harihara I, the founder of Vijayanagara, and the role played by the former in its foundation.

### Wrong Lead

On account of the wrong lead given by some of our historians during the last half a century, the question of the foundation of Vijayanagara has become complicated and confusing. The complication and confusion has deepened by persistent repetitions which have made the uncritical readers believe what is not a fact as a fact and what is unhistorical as historical.

### Fresh Approach

This problem therefore needs to be studied afresh critically according to the accepted principles of historical investigation and interpretation.

The three main aspects of this problem are the following: one, the origin and regional affiliation of the founder; two, his career and rise to leadership of the freedom movement against alien aggression and domination; three, his relationship with Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III who was fervently engaged in the pursuits to free the country from the peril of the foreigners.

### Recent Findings

In a paper<sup>2</sup> presented in the Vijayanagara Seminar held at Hospet during November 1970, we have discussed at length these questions and arrived at the following conclusions.

The founders of Vijayanagara, viz. Harihara I and Bukka had nothing to do with Warangal at any time.<sup>3</sup> They never served in the court of Kākatīya Pratāparudra. The subsequent part of the story of their employment under the Kampili ruler, their captivity, conversion to Islam and loyal service under the Delhi Sultan, later deputation as his agents and governors of the Hampi region and finally their apostatization and admission to the Hindu religion is all fictitious.

**Legendary Sources**

The false account presented by some modern historiographers is thoroughly unwarranted by authentic epigraphical sources. On the contrary, it freely draws upon late literary sources which are palpably legendary. The principal one among them is the *Vidyāraṇya-Kārajñāna* compiled about the end of the fifteenth century or even later. Its legendary character is betrayed by its attribution to Vidyāraṇya, the desultory and unhistorical fashion of its narration and the introduction of the mythical element through Rēvaṇasiddha.<sup>4</sup>

**Topics Under Study**

Here, we would now discuss in some detail, the question of the actual domicile of the founders and critically study the circumstances that led to the foundation of Vijayanagara, focussing attention on the mutual relationship between the Hoysaḷa ruler and the originator of the new kingdom.

**Domicile of the Founders**

As for the actual domicile of the founders the epigraphical testimony clearly shows that they belonged to Karnataka. Sangama, the father of Harihara, must have been a modest local chief without distinguished official status. This can be inferred from the non-existence of any records issued by him or the absence of any allusion to him in the inscriptions prior to the foundation of Vijayanagara.

However, Sangama figures and is extolled in the inscriptions of the successive rulers of his dynasty. In them formal praise is bestowed upon him and he is credited with some exploits which do not carry much historical significance.

**Karṇāṭa Country**

But, from the historical point of view, there is one important item of information, which, is again and again and consistently, asserted in the course of such descriptions about Sangama. This is that he belonged to the Karṇāṭa country which he adorned.<sup>5</sup> The original passage in Sanskrit reads like this:

Tatr-āsīt Sangamō nāma  
bhūmipālō guṇōttaraḥ /  
yēna Karṇāṭa-dēśaśrīḥ  
sthira-tāṭankavaty-abhūt //

It means:

There resided a chief named Sangama possessing high qualities.  
It was on account of him that the goddess of Karṇāṭa country



was endowed with the privilege of incessantly wearing the ornament of earrings of married ladies.

No argument is needed to prove the validity of this singular assertion;<sup>6</sup> it can be accepted as an unquestionable historical fact.

### Hampi Region

A further question on this may be asked: which part of Karnataka was Sangama's native region? The answer to this also is furnished by the epigraphical records.

In one place it is stated that it was the region of Tungabhadra (Tungā-kshamā). Another statement in a similar context mentions the birth of Sangama in the vicinity of Pampāpurī which is Hampi. The original passage reads: *Pampāpurīparisarē bhava Sangamākhyah*. Some of these assertions are found in the records of as early a date as 1376 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Hence all of them have to be treated as authentic and historically sound.

### Harihara-Ballāḷa Enmity (?)

It is unfortunate that without proper scrutiny some modern scholars are misled by the legendary narration in the *Vidyāraṇya-Kāḷajñāna* in presuming that Harihara and Bukka were inimical to Ballāḷa III and fought with him for carving out their new kingdom of Vijayanagara. The relevant part of the story as given in the above treatise<sup>8</sup> is like this:

Impressed by the fidelity and steadfastness of the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, who had been brought as captives after destroying the kingdom of Rāmanātha, where they served formerly, the Delhi Sultan deputed them as his trusted officers to govern the province of Karṇāṭa. Crossing the river Kṛṣṇā, they reached the territory. There they fought with king Ballāḷa and were defeated. In this hour of distress the sage Rēvaṇa Siddha appeared in the dream of Harihara; and bestowing the Linga of Chandramaṇḍīśvara, he assured him of his future success and royalty with the blessings of Vidyāraṇya. Then they assembled their scattered forces, fought with king Ballāḷa and conquered his dominions.

### Figment of Imagination

Implicitly pinning his faith on this queer episode of the founding of Vijayanagara, which we have elsewhere shown as baseless,<sup>9</sup> Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has devoted one full chapter in support of it in his *Vijayanagara—Origin of the City and the Empire* (Chapter V, pp. 129-147). He has tried to prove that Harihara I established and expan-

ded his kingdom in defiance of and with opposition to the Hoysaḷa rule and authority. A thorough probe and critical investigation of his arguments which are ostensibly reinforced with the testimony of epigraphs, reveals the plain fact that this plea is nothing but a figment of wild imagination. The learned author's own diffidence and uncertainty about his own views are betrayed by his free use of conjectural expressions like, 'may be', 'probably', 'seems', 'appears', etc. in the course of the discussion.

### Epigraphs Misinterpreted

A careful examination of the epigraphs cited by the author to support his thesis shows that they are beside the mark and do not support his presumption. For instance, in the records, Chintamani 53, Kolar 54, Bowringpet 28 and Malur 16, all in the Kolar District (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. X), there is no indication of the alleged fight or the so called war between Ballāḷa III and Harihara I.

They are grants made for various purposes in favour of Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka. The reference in them like 'for the victory of the sword and arm (*vāḷukkun tōḷukkun naṇriyāga* or *jayamāga*) of this dignitary, does not justify the inference drawn about the state of hostility. It has to be noted that in none of these records Harihara is mentioned. This Ballappa was a famous general and trusted high officer of Ballāḷa III, who ably assisted his master and uncle in the administration of the empire by quelling the disturbances and maintaining peace and order. Furthermore, he was related to both Ballāḷa III and Harihara I, being the nephew (sister's son) of the former and son-in-law of the latter. What would be reasonable in this context was to show explicitly that Harihara and Ballappa had fallen out. But this was not possible. In fact, their relations were never strained. The most authentic proof for this is the famous Śṛingēri inscription<sup>10</sup> of 1346 A.D. wherein Ballappa figures among the leading participants in the historic celebration of victory after the foundation of Vijayanagara by Harihara and his four brothers.

### Misleading Arguments

Further, indulging in a lengthy discussion to justify his baseless theory of Ballāḷa-Harihara hostility, the said author concludes that Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka should have fought with Harihara in the Nigarili Chōḷa-maṇḍala included in Kolar District.

Another typical instance deserves scrutiny here. Inscription Huṇasūru 114 in Mysore District (*Ep. Carn.* Vol. IV) is a record on hero-stone. It is damaged and its purport is not clear. Dated in 1344 A.D., it simply mentions Hariyappa Oḍeya and some Gauḍas. The

details of the fight are not known. Still, this is taken to support the theory of the alleged war between Ballāḷa III and Harihara I. In fact, it might be the usual record pertaining to local cattle raids.

This is a glaring instance of how history could be travestied by misusing the otherwise authentic evidence of inscriptions to suit one's preconceived notions. This misinterpretation has done great injustice to the real history of Vijayanagara.

### **Ballāḷa's National Outlook**

Thus exploding the myth of civil war between the Hoysaals and the Sangamas, we now turn our attention to the real great war of national independence that was waged for over three decades by Ballāḷa III and following him, continued by Harihara I.

The Muslim invasion of the South was an unprecedented calamity of universal magnitude, visiting it for the first time in its history. Its disastrous shadows were cast over the Hoysaḷa empire in the first decade of Ballāḷa's reign. By the end of the second decade they assumed the formidable form of a thunderbolt which struck the Hoysaḷa capital and the kingdom with devastating effects.

Ballāḷa was made of a different calibre than other rulers of the South, like the Yādava, the Kākatīya and the Pāṇḍya. Before the superior might of the aggressor he bent, but did neither prostrate nor succumb. His foresight, patriotic fervour, indomitable spirit of freedom, unflinching energy and courage against heavy odds, ever wakeful national interest, resourcefulness, diplomacy, capacity to take quick decision and prompt action, all enabled him to rise to the occasion to squarely face the growing menace to the country and the people.

### **Enemy's Triumph**

It is worthwhile to recapitulate the following important events that mark the progress of alien conquest of South India. After a series of incursions the kingdom of Dēvagiri was wiped out in 1318 A.D. The kingdom of Warangal was extinguished by the final blow of the invader in 1323 A.D. The principality of Kampili was crushed in 1327 A.D. Dōrasamudra, the Hoysaḷa capital was sacked in 1310 and 1327 A.D. Invaded more than once, the Pāṇḍyan territory was subjugated and the Delhi Sultan's governor was posted at Madura (c. 1327 A.D.). This officer later on set up his independent rule in about 1335 A.D.

### **Ballāḷa's Supreme Efforts**

On this political background we can review the activities of Ballāḷa III.



Ballāḷa's empire extended from the Hampi-Tungabhadra region in the north to Rāmēśvaram in the south. From shore to shore it stretched across to the east and the west. The enemy had overrun this vast territory and entrenched himself firmly with his military garrisons stationed in all important strategic positions. It was a stupendous undertaking to dislodge such an adversary and free the land from his clutches. But Ballāḷa applied himself to this task with his exemplary zeal and uncommon acumen.

By collecting the epigraphical sources available in numbers, cautiously utilising the accounts of Muslim writers and a study of the topography, it is possible to describe in broad outlines the grim freedom fight launched by the Hoysaḷa king and the extraordinary measures devised by him to accomplish his objective. The inscriptions, though found in a large quantity, do not furnish many necessary details. Still, even the limited information forthcoming from them is valuable.

### **Northern Defence**

It is unquestionable that the Hampi area was included in Ballāḷa's empire and this fact is supported by epigraphical evidence.<sup>11</sup> A modern visitor to Hampi is prone to question the wisdom of the statesmen of the fourteenth century in choosing such a mountainous wilderness for the capital city of their empire. However, if one carefully examines the topography of the two banks of the river around Hampi, their essentially hilly character, inaccessible ruggedness and natural fortifications, one has to conclude that from the military point of view it was the strongest tract serving as an invulnerable barrier to the ruthless invader, affording countless advantages of defence and attack.

In the course of his defensive arrangements it appears that Ballāḷa III built a new fort in the mountain ranges to the north of the river for this purpose and it might have been called variously as Hosadurga, Virūpāksha-Hosadurga, Hosabeṭṭa, Hosapaṭṭa,<sup>12</sup> etc.

Virūpākshapura, Virūpākshapāda, Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākshapura, Virūpākshapaṭṭaṇa,<sup>13</sup> etc., mentioned in some of his inscriptions may also refer to this new stronghold erected by Ballāḷa III. The association of the god Virūpāksha's name with it can be explained, taking into account this ruler's devotion to this god whose temple was situated in close proximity just on the opposite bank. The suffix Vijaya in the above name is honorific like Vīra-Vijaya-Ballāḷapura.<sup>14</sup> It would be incorrect to connect it with the city of Vijayanagara, later founded by the Sangamas on the southern bank of the river.

### **Ballāḷa's Strategy**

By erecting fortifications on the northern frontier Ballāḷa could

prevent new inroads of the enemy. But what about the forces that had already occupied the territories and were carrying on their military rule? The tracts under their occupation were spread over wide areas in the north, south, east and west. For this, Ballāḷa, a skilled diplomat as he was, adopted the strategy of encountering the enemy in his own settlements, ranging in all directions. Thus only the usurper could be routed and evicted. In pursuance of this effective strategy Ballāḷa moved about from place to place mobilizing his forces and preparing them for the offensive. The events show that this grand strategy worked well.

Further, the statement of Ferishta about Ballāḷa's convening an assembly of his kinsmen,<sup>15</sup> which we may believe, and his movements and obvious contacts with the chiefs and leaders of the Andhra and Tamil regions, indicate that it was a planned confederacy of south Indian nationals organized for the purpose of freeing the land from foreign domination.

The following brief sketch of Ballāḷa's strenuous efforts and long-range incessant tours substantiates the above view.

When Dōrasamudra was sacked by Malik Kafur in 1310 A.D. Ballāḷa resorted to Bēlūr. After six years he rebuilt his capital in 1316 A.D. Two years later he shifted the centre of his activities far away to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai in South Arcot district. This place is mentioned variously as Aruṇasamudra, Uṇṇāmalepaṭṭaṇa, etc. From 1318 A.D. to 1328 A.D. intermittantly he was sojourning in this town. Subsequently, in 1331 A.D. and later from 1340 to 1342 A.D. he was camping in this city. In between in 1334 A.D. he visited Kānchi in Chingleput district. Between 1330 and 1340 A.D. he was in his northern stronghold, noted above, on the other side of Hampi.<sup>16</sup>

Pondering over this, we are justified in maintaining that this centrally situated town of Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was the convenient headquarters wherefrom the Hoysaḷa king conducted his operations against the enemy in the eastern tracts of Andhra and Tamil Nad. It is believed<sup>17</sup> that the venue of the assembly of freedom warriors was arranged by him at this place in 1328 A.D. We may also note that from here he could plan his attack against the newly founded enemy pocket in the southern Pāṇḍyan kingdom at Madura which became a thorn in his side.

In the west, the Muslim threat was not serious. But Ballāḷa had to reckon with the feudatory Āḷupas who had grown recalcitrant. It was to check the defiance of his subordinates in this area that in 1338 A.D. he paid a visit to Bārakur<sup>18</sup> and strengthened his military contingent there.

The freedom struggle of Ballāḷa appears to have gathered momentum and reached its mature stage in the south by 1330 A.D. His fol-

lowers were hopeful and prayed for his success by performing religious ceremonies in their usual fashion. Two inscriptions in Bangalore district, dated 1330 A.D., register grants for the victory to the sword and arm of king Ballāḷa III.<sup>19</sup>

In the north, in the Hampi-Kampili area there was popular uprising against the rule of the Sultan whose governor of the region had to leave his post and flee to Delhi. This rebellion and a similar one in the Andhra province, which took place about this time,<sup>20</sup> might have been inspired by the freedom movement sponsored by Ballāḷa and received impetus from its success in the southern parts. But before reviewing the course of events in this northern sector we have to note an important measure adopted by Ballāḷa in the administrative matters to cope up with the new situation arising out of the disastrous foreign invasion.

### **Decentralisation of Power**

This measure was to delegate more powers and freedom of action to his ministers, generals, feudatories and provincial officers.<sup>21</sup> But, before granting this freedom Ballāḷa seems to have taken them into confidence and enlisted their loyalty and unswerving devotion to his mission of fighting the foreigners. Inscriptions provide a good number of examples in support of this observation. A few of them are cited below:

1. King Ballāḷa and general Mādigidēva were ruling the kingdom from Dōrasamudra (1307 A.D., *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Holalkere 136).
2. King Ballāḷa, Great Minister Mādigidēva and Great Minister Māchaya (the son-in-law) were ruling the kingdom from Dōrasamudra (1310 A.D., *ibid.*, Chitradurga 1).
3. King not mentioned. Great Minister Māva Daṇḍanāyaka was ruling the earth (1311 A.D., *ibid.*, Vol. IV, Gundlupet, 45).
4. King Ballāḷa, strong-armed Bhīmarāya, prince Kāthōra Hara, Prince Simha-Raghunātha, Prince Kālamēgha, Prince Vīra-Sānta, General Baicheya, Great Minister Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka and Great Minister Singeya Daṇḍanāyaka were ruling the kingdom from Uṇṇāmale (1328 A.D., *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Chitradurga 4).
5. King Ballāḷa was at Virūpāksha-Hosadurga. He and Great Minister Kāmeya Daṇḍanāyaka were ruling the kingdom (1331 A.D., *ibid.*, Vol. XII, Gubbi, 30).
6. Hiriya Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka, son of Great Minister Rāmeya Daṇḍanāyaka of king Ballāḷa's palace, was ruling the kingdom (1338 A.D., *ibid.*, Vol. XI, Chitradurga 6).



7. King not mentioned. *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vīra Hariyappa Oḍeya bearing the titles, *Arirāyavibhāḍa* etc. and the title Lord of the Four Seas, was ruling the earth (1340 A.D., *ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nela-mangala 19).

### Unique Instances

These and some more similar records not cited are unique instances. Usually, the king is known to share his sovereignty by associating himself with the queen, princes or members of the royal family. But here, with reference to Ballāḷa III, it is significant that his authority and responsibility are shared by ministers and generals who are his subordinate officers. Some times these officers are mentioned as ruling and issuing grants on their own without referring to the king. It is quite evident that this was not due to anarchy and insubordination. This extraordinary innovation must have been necessitated on account of the unprecedented circumstances, the country was passing through.

In the fourth of the above cases there are nine persons including the king and four princes, who bear the joint responsibility of ruling the kingdom. This is a singular instance and it has been construed with reference to the assembly of kinsmen convened by Ballāḷa mentioned above. Hariyappa in the last instance is unquestionably Harihara I of Vijayanagara. In spite of his imperial title, Lord of the Four Seas, it has to be specifically noted that he is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, signifying his subordinate allegiance to Ballāḷa III, though the latter is not specifically mentioned in the record. This is a very valuable piece of evidence.

### Rise of Harihara

Owing to the paucity of records we are handicapped in clearly portraying the early career of Harihara. However, we may note a few details about him with a fair amount of certainty. He was a native of the Hampi-Ānegondi region where his father Sangama, as seen above, was a local chief of some standing. Harihara appears to have commenced his early career as a subordinate officer under Ballāḷa III and been subsequently promoted to the dignified status of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* or provincial governor. Three early inscriptions, including the one cited above,<sup>22</sup> dated 1339-40 A.D., wherein he prominently figures, specifically mention this official title. Since, except Ballāḷa III there was no other well established sovereign in the whole of South India at that time, Harihara's relationship as provincial governor could be with none else than this Hoysaḷa king.

As Ballāḷa was intent upon defending the northern frontiers of his empire, which he strengthened with new fortifications, we might

assume that he entrusted the responsibility to Harihara who was the most fitted officer for this commission. Thus, while Ballāḷa could concentrate his resources in the south and south-east, Harihara was left free to pursue his task in the north and north-west. Harihara's success in this undertaking is attested by his construction of a fort at Bādāmi farther in the north and extension of his sway in the northern zone of west coast which was acknowledged by the Muslim governor of the area.<sup>23</sup>

Earlier, recognizing the princely blood, respectable family status and the official rank of Harihara, Ballāḷa went further to contract matrimonial alliance with the former. Consequently, Ballappa Daṇḍanāyaka who ranked high in the Hoysaḷa officialdom and whom Ballāḷa fondly addressed as his own son, though a nephew (sister's son), became the son-in-law of Harihara.<sup>24</sup>

### 1336 – 1340 A.D.

The year around 1336 A.D. was a critical juncture in the freedom struggle of Ballāḷa. Though largely successful, he was yet to win the last war by conquering the southern territory under the occupation of the Muslim governor of Madura. In the north the Delhi Sultan was striving to keep under his control the Hampi-Karṇāpili region which had revolted against his rule. To a man nearing the age of seventy-five, that was Ballāḷa at the time, it was beyond possibility to effectively exercise his authority over these two far off regions.

Hence, extending his policy of decentralisation of power to the extreme limit, Ballāḷa appears to have conferred upon Harihara not only full freedom of action, but even autonomy over the areas under his control. Harihara in the meanwhile succeeded in winning over the rebellious subjects in the Hampi territory, who were too glad to accept him as their ruler.

Thus came into being the new state of Vijayanagara in the last decade of Ballāḷa III's reign. It was the cumulative product of broad vision, farsighted diplomacy and political generosity of a great monarch on one side and patriotic fervour, spirit of freedom and sacrifice and loyalty to the cause evinced by his official ranks and popular leaders on the other.

Within four years from 1336 A.D., invested with the powers of an autonomous prince and aided by his younger brothers Kampanṇa and Bukka, Harihara rescued the northern territories from east to west, from the hands of the enemy and assumed the title, Lord of the Eastern and Western Seas, along with the specific Vijayanagara epithets like *Arirāyavibhāḍa* and *Bhāshege-tappuva-rāyaragaṇḍa*. Three

years later in 1343 A.D. when Ballāḷa III was no more, he styled himself *Mahārājādhirāja* indicating his supreme rulership.<sup>25</sup>

### Great Monarch

Ballāḷa's achievements are monumental. He took up the challenge and assumed the leadership of a nation as the champion of freedom and saviour of the suppressed in the most critical period of Indian history when the entire Southern peninsula was being submerged under the onslaught of the alien invader. He rose to international stature and forged for the first time unity among diverse peoples and potentates of the south. By his sacrifices he paved the way for the future glories of the Vijayanagara empire. Treacherously killed by the enemy in 1342 A.D. at Madura, he became immortal as a martyr.

Harihara was a worthy successor of Ballāḷa III. He completed the work of establishing comprehensive *svarājya* and independent national state, which was left incomplete by his predecessor. But for Ballāḷa III it is doubtful, if the freedom fighters of the fourteenth century would have succeeded to the extent they did in routing the enemy and founding a powerful kingdom that fulfilled the national aspirations of the people of South India.

### References and Notes

1. This paper was presented in the seminar on Hoysala history, organised by the University of Mysore in December 1970.
2. This is subsequently published in this Journal. See *Social Sciences*, No. VI, 1970, pp. 175 ff.
3. This is proved on the authority of the Gozalvidu inscription of Bukka I, dated 1374 A.D.; *ibid.*, pp. 180–81. In the facsimile of the record facing p. 192 the date misprinted as (1394 A. D.) should be corrected to (1374 A. D.).
4. *Ibid.*, p. 178 f.
5. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Ml. 121; Vol. VIII, Nr. 69; etc.
6. Being a contemporary unvarnished statement in the records of the Sangama family itself, there is no touch of imagination in it.
7. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Yd. 46. The citation is in the form of benediction.
8. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, pp. 14 ff.
9. See foot-note 2, above.
10. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Sg. 1.
11. See below.
12. William Coelho, *Hoysala Vamsa*, p. 239.
13. *Ibid.*; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Dv. 21. and Ht. 43.
14. *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak. 72. This was modern Arasikere.
15. *Hoysala Vamsa*, p. 246.



16. Saletore, *Social and Political Life*, etc., Vol. I, pp. 6-7, *Hoysala Vamsa*, pp. 236, 239, etc.
17. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 125.
18. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak. 183.
19. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Ht. 100 and An. 75.
20. K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 238.
21. Cf. *Hoysala Vamsa.*, p. 240-41.
22. The other two are: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 63; *Further Sources (op. cit.)* No. 20, the Atakalagundu inscription.
23. Heras (*op. cit.*), p. 68.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
25. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak. 159.

## EMPLOYMENT OBJECTIVE IN ECONOMIC POLICY

D. M. NANJUNDAPPA

### The Spectre of Unemployment

The spectre of unemployment has engaged greater attention both at the national and international levels, and has been accompanied by a marked change in the objectives of economic policy. Until recently, the economically less advanced countries were the suppliers of raw-materials and other primary goods to industrially developed countries. But now the possibility of industrialisation of the underdeveloped countries is gaining more recognition.

The impact of increasing trade, expanding communication facilities and increasing domestic output has led to an increase in internal investment in new fields. The desire for rapid industrialisation has been strongly felt; but the urge for fuller utilization of resources has yet to grow. In the case of some countries like Japan, industrialisation has been thought of more as a means of obtaining a place on the map of powerful nations than as a means of fuller utilization of the resources of the economy.

The depression of the 'thirties pressed hard on almost all the economies of the world. The magnitude of the depression was reflected in the decline in national income. Within three years between 1929 and 1932, it declined by more than half in United States of America, Roumania and Yugoslavia; by 40 per cent in Canada, Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia; and by 15 per cent in United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In terms of loss of employment opportunities, at the depth of depression in 1932, over 25 million industrial workers throughout the world were unemployed.<sup>2</sup> The underdeveloped countries, which had been heavy borrowers in the past, were very much affected by the depression. It became necessary for them to maintain the volume and the money of the export surplus in order to meet their payments on the international account.<sup>3</sup> These factors contributed to the change in the objectives of economic policy.

### Employment Perspective in the Shaping

The League of Nations' delegation drew attention to the changes that were taking place during the war in the accepted ideas—the belief

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1. League of Nations: *World Economic Survey* 1938–39, p. 84.

2. League of Nations: *The Transition From War to Peace Economy* (Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions. Part I) 1943, p. 21.

3. Cf. U. N.: *International Capital Movements During the Inter-War Period*, 1949, pp. 35–52.

that we should think in terms of consumers needs first, and then in terms of our mechanical, scientific, and human power to satisfy those needs, the belief that wide differences in the standards of living of different peoples are a menace to social order and international understanding.<sup>1</sup> These changes affected the tenor of their recommendations regarding the objectives of economic policy. They believed that the objectives should be to assure that the fullest possible use is made of the resources of production, human and material, of the skill and enterprise of the individual, of available scientific discoveries and inventions, so as to attain and maintain in all countries a stable economy and rising standards of living; that, in so far as possible, no man or woman able and willing to work should be unable to obtain employment for periods of time longer than is needed to transfer from one occupation to another or when necessary, to acquire a new skill.<sup>2</sup>

The delegation avoided the term 'full employment' in prescribing the objectives of economic policy; but efficient employment received greater emphasis.

Full employment was accepted by the United Nations Charter as an objective for all nations. "With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote higher standards of living; full employment and conditions of economic and social progress and development<sup>3</sup>. . . . All members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action."<sup>4</sup>

Consequently, there was a reshaping of economic policies in the richer countries with a view to maintaining full employment. In the United States, it became the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means . . . to co-ordinate and utilize all its plans, functions and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining, in a manner calculated to foster and promote. . . . conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities including self-employment, for those able, willing and seeking to work and to promote maximum employment production and purchasing power.<sup>5</sup> The Government of U. K. accept-

1. Cf. Report of the Delegation, Part I (*The Transition From War to Peace Economy*) 1943, Introduction pp. 9-13.

2. League of Nations: *Economic Stability in the Post-War World* (Report of the Delegation on Economic Depressions, Part II) 1945, p. 21.

3. U. N.: *Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs*, (1955), Text of Article 55, p. 7.

4. U. N.: *Repertory of Practice of United Nations Organs*, (1955), Text of Article 56, p. 113.

5. *Employment Act of 1946*, Section 2. Alvin, H. Hansen, *Economic Policy and Full Employment*, 1947, p. 331.



ed as one of their primary aims and responsibilities "the maintenance of a high and stable level of employment."<sup>1</sup> The basic objective of Australian post-War economic policy was proclaimed as full employment.<sup>2</sup> In France, the ultimate objectives of the Monnet plan (First Plan of Modernisation and Equipment for the years 1947-1950) were declared as the attainment of a higher standard of living and full employment.<sup>3</sup> The Government of New Zealand included among the major objectives of economic policy the attainment of greater economic stability and full employment.<sup>4</sup>

Full employment does not arise as a separate problem of economic policy in centrally controlled economies like Russia and Czechoslovakia. Full utilisation of manpower in these countries is a particular aspect of the over-all plan of utilisation and allocation of national resources. This fact along with the "Decree of 1931 which abolished Un-employment in Russia"<sup>5</sup> account for the absence of employment target in the Soviet Plans. But their objective has been to ensure permanent staffs of workers for industry and transport, improve the organisation of labour, provide better living and material conditions and raise the productivity of labour.<sup>6</sup>

The Czechoslovak Government has undertaken commitments concerning policies and programmes to promote full employment and economic stability.<sup>7</sup> The basic aim of the Polish National Economic plan in the reconstruction of industry was to ensure full employment of the urban population, while laying the basis for the elimination of such agricultural over-population as may exist as well for the permanent absorption of the natural population increase of the future.<sup>8</sup>

The under-developed countries could not stand unaffected by the reshaping of economic policies of the richer countries in terms of full employment. They followed the employment objective through a different approach to the problem of full employment.

The type of problems that facilitated the adoption of employment objectives in richer countries are different from those that have influ-

1. *Employment Policy* (Presented by the minister of Reconstruction to parliament by Command of His Majesty, May 1944), New Delhi, 1945, p. 1.
2. U. N.: *Economic Development in Selected Countries* (Plans, Programmes and Agencies 1950), Vol. 2, p. 33.
3. Seymour E. Harris, 'Economic Planning' 1951, p. 393.
4. U. N.: *Economic Development in Selected Countries*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 120.
5. Turin: *The U.S.S.R. (An Economic and Social Survey)*, London 1947, Third Edition, p. 237.
6. Molotov: *The Third Five Year Plan - U.S.S.R. (1938-42)*, 1944, pp. 156-157; also *Law on the Five Year Plan* (1946-50), London 1946, p. 10.
7. U. N.: *Maintenance of Full Employment*, 1939, Appendix p. 86.
8. U. N.: *Economic Development in Selected Countries*, op. cit. Vol. 1, 2, p. 199.

enced the employment approach in underdeveloped countries. The chief concern of the economically advanced countries is the insufficiency and instability of effective demand.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis in the full employment policies of advanced countries has been on the role of "automatic stabilizers" inherent in the governmental machinery and the employment approach rests on such counter-cyclical policies as variations in government expenditure, stimulation of consumption, encouragement of private domestic investment and foreign investment.<sup>2</sup>

But unemployment through fluctuations of effective demand is not a matter of primary concern for economically under-developed countries. The major problem is the existence of a chronic state of under-employment of available manpower, owing to the low level of economic development.<sup>3</sup> This appears in the form of disguised unemployment in agriculture and in industry with low productivity and depressed standards of living.

The necessity of eliminating structural unemployment, disguised or in some instances visible, by means of economic development has governed the reshaping of their economic policies in terms of employment objectives. Their endeavour in this direction was rendered easy partly on account of the existence of international organisations like the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and Technical Assistance Programme which are interested in assisting under-developed countries to strengthen their national economies through the development of their industries and agriculture.<sup>4</sup>

Egypt provides one of the instances of the extent to which the under-developed countries were prompted to frame development plans with a bias towards employment. In the framing of its Five Year Plan, priorities were established on the contribution each project could within a relatively short period, make to the promotion of national income and maintenance of a high level of employment.<sup>5</sup>

Thus, in the formulation of economic policies, the employment objective became prominent. The Delegation on economic depressions used the words 'the fullest possible' employment in stipulating the objectives of economic policy in post-depression years. But the United Nations accepted in its Charter 'full employment', as the

1. See U. N.: *National and International Measures for Full Employment*, 1949, p. 13.

2. See U. N.: *Maintenance of Full Employment*, op. cit., section, 1, pp. 8-24.

3. U. N.: *Maintenance of Full Employment*, op. cit., p. 127. It is interesting to note that open unemployment resulting from a rate of addition to labour force higher than what the economy can absorb did not receive as much attention as it deserved in some of the early reports like the one under reference.

4. U. N.: *Processes and Problems of Industrialisation in Under-developed Countries*, 1955, p. 97.

5. U. N.: *Economic Development in Selected Countries*, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 191.

objective without any reservation. The trend has therefore been one of avoidance to acceptance of 'full employment' as a basic aim to be achieved by all the nations. All the richer countries have committed themselves in one way or the other for the maintenance of full employment. In the under-developed countries also, such a realisation has gradually crept in, but in the case of the latter, the general approach to the problem of full employment has been through economic development.

### Employment Objective in Indian Economic Policy

Similar trends in employment approach to economic policy are noticeable in India in the various official and non-official policy statements and observations made from time to time and in the Five Year Plans. But there is no 'full employment' pledge as such in Indian economic policy even after two decades of Planning. A brief study of the evolution of employment objective in our country will make this point clear.

In 1916, the Indian Industrial Commission was appointed to examine and report upon the possibilities of further industrial development and to indicate the new openings for the profitable employment of Indian capital in commerce and industry and the methods to be adopted by the Government by way of direct encouragement to industrial development<sup>1</sup>. While suggesting profitable lines of action, its business was confined to the objective "of drawing out capital now lying idle; of building up an artisan population"<sup>2</sup> . . . and of helping in some measure towards the ideal of an India, strong in her own strength and a worthy partner in the empire."<sup>3</sup> But a more forward policy of industrialisation was recommended by the Montagu-Chelmsford Report to give India economic stability. . . . in order to satisfy the aspirations of her people who desire to see her stand before the world as a well-poised, up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet for the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn exclusively to Government service or a few over-stocked professions; . . . . and in order that the too speculative and literary tendencies of Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends."<sup>4</sup> Thus the necessity of providing employment in industry for those who would otherwise be drawn exclusively to a few overstocked professions was recognised by the authors of the Report on Constitutional Reforms.

The National Planning Committee appointed in 1938 gave con-

1. *Indian Industrial Commission*, (1916-1918), Calcutta, 1918; p. XV.

2. *Appendices to the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission*, p. 3.

3. *Ibid.* p. 291.

4. Government of India, *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms* (Reprint) Calcutta, 1928. p. 212.



siderable attention to a review of the progress in mitigating unemployment. As the committee was a non-official body, it did not possess all the relevant information required for formulating a detailed policy.

In the meantime a number of prominent industrialists worked on a plan which was published in January 1944 and became known as the Bombay Plan.<sup>1</sup> It had a good reception and influenced the Reconstruction Committee; but was silent on the employment objective. The People's Plan, prepared by the Post-war Committee of the Indian Federation of Labour, recognised the need to create for our people a possibility of an ever-rising standard of living, on the basis of an ever more gainful employment.<sup>2</sup> But the term 'full employment' was not used in the People's Plan.

However, in a further report<sup>3</sup> by the authors of the Bombay Plan, the term was boldly accepted. Among the five objectives laid down, the place of pride was given to 'Provision of full employment'. For that purpose, the term was defined as "ensuring for every grown up person suitable opportunities for earning his or her livelihood, that is, a recognition of the individual's right to work, increased mobility of labour being an essential condition for achieving this object."<sup>4</sup> Their adoption of a much more moderate ideal of "provision of fuller scope for employment" instead of the unqualified target of "full employment" while explaining in detail the measures for raising the general level of income cannot escape the attention of any observer.

While non-official organisations were thus thinking in terms of planning and provision of more gainful or fuller scope for employment, the Government of India was anxiously considering, the post-war problems and their relation to long-term national development.

The Reconstruction Committee emphasized in 1944 that the ultimate aim of Government must be the full employment of all those seeking work.<sup>5</sup> But they added that it would necessarily take a long time to ensure full employment in a vast country like India.<sup>6</sup>

The Central Advisory Planning Board, appointed in 1946 to make a rapid survey of the work already done in the field of planning and to make recommendations regarding objectives and priorities, envis-

1. *A Brief Memorandum Outlining a Plan of Economic Development for India*, by Sir P. Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. B. Birla, Sir A. Dalal, Sir Shri Ram Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. D. Shroff, and John Mathai (Bombay-1944).
2. *People's Plan for Economic Development of India* by B. N. Banerjee, G. D. Parikh, and V. M. Tarkunde (Delhi, March, 1944) p. 38.
3. Published in January, 1945.
4. *A plan of Economic Development for India*, Part II (Distribution Role of the State), by Sir Thakurdas and others, Bombay, January, 1945, p. 6.
5. Reconstruction Committee of Council, *Second Report on Reconstruction Planning*, 1944, p. 18.
6. *Ibid.*

aged the raising of the general standard of living of the people as a whole and ensuring useful employment for all as the general objectives of planning.<sup>1</sup>

Again the unqualified target of 'Full Employment' made its appearance in the observation of the Labour Investigation Committee that 'a nation-wide programme of full employment is a very urgent necessity so far as labour is concerned; . . . that a programme of full employment by which we mean a situation in which there are more jobs than men, is imperative in the case of this country which has been suffering long from the evil of unemployment'.<sup>2</sup>

The National Planning Committee<sup>3</sup> also recognised 'that the first objective in planning would be to increase the aggregate of material wealth in the country . . . so as not only to have a much larger national dividend in the aggregate, but also to make it more evenly shared by the total population of the country. This sharing can be done by individual participation in the work by all classes of people. This means securing of full employment for all able to work.

In contrast to an unqualified employment objective, as endorsed by the Bombay Plan, the Reconstruction Committee, the Central Advisory Planning Board, the Labour Investigation Committee, and the National Planning Committee, the recent statements on employment policy have run along cautious lines. Of the many official statements about general economic policy of the Government of India, the declaration of industrial policy made in 1948 reveals the cautious approach. "The nation has now set itself to establish a social order where justice and equality of opportunity shall be secured to all people. The immediate objective is to provide educational facilities and health services on a much wider scale, and to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country, increasing production, and offering opportunities to all for employment in the service of the community. For this purpose, careful planning and integrated effort over the whole field of national activity are necessary; and the Government of India propose to establish a National Planning Commission to formulate programmes of development and to secure their execution'.<sup>4</sup> The Indian Constitution also recognises the importance of employment in the directive principles of state policy that 'the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood; . . . the

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1. Cf. cited in U. N.: *Economic Development in Selected Countries*, (1947) Vol. 1, p. 155.
  2. Government of India, *Labour Investigation Committee*, 1946, (Main Report) p. 375.
  3. National Planning Committee, *Report of the Sub Committee on Labour*, Bombay 1947, pp. 46-47.
  4. *Gazette of India Extraordinary*, 6th April 1948 (Industrial Policy Statement Part 1)

state shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement'.<sup>1</sup>

One of the objectives of the First Five Year Plan was to increase employment opportunities and to raise the standard of living. The Planning Commission was conscious that while a fuller utilisation of the idle manpower in the country must be a major objective and every effort must be made to create opportunities for work in the rural areas through improvement in agriculture, development of cottage and small-scale industries, an extensive programme of public works, especially in the slack season, the necessary equipment and other materials needed for improving labour productivity limited the rate at which idle manpower can be absorbed.<sup>2</sup> The cautious approach, more clearly in the words of its authors, is that the accent in the first few years of development has to be on mobilisation of idle manpower with as little increase in money incomes as possible rather than on full employment as such, which to have any meaning should be able to provide higher money as well as real incomes all round.<sup>3</sup>

In the formulation of the framework of the Second Five Year Plan, it was recognised that planning must be bold enough to provide new work for about 1.8 million new entrants into the labour force every year and also to offer more work to the large number of persons who are without jobs or who are underemployed. The objective, as envisaged in the Plan framework, was to liquidate unemployment as quickly as possible and within a period of not exceeding ten years.<sup>4</sup> The introduction of a dead line for achieving the full employment objective seems to have made the Plan Framework regard a large increase in employment opportunities as the 'Kingpin of the Second Plan'.<sup>5</sup>

As a result of such thinking before its formulation, the Second Five Year Plan, with the broader aim of attaining the 'Socialistic Pattern of Society', had as one of its four principal objectives the achieving of 'a large expansion of employment opportunities'.<sup>6</sup> It took the stand, correctly no doubt, that "the question of increasing employment opportunities cannot be separated from the programmes of investment envisaged in the Plan. Employment is implicit in and follows investment and it is of course a major consideration in deter-

1. *The Construction of India*, 1949, Articles 39 (a) and 41, pp. 19–20.

2. Government of India, Planning Commission, *The First Five Year Plan*, 1952, p. 30.

3. *Ibid*, p. 24.

4. Cf. Government of India, *Second Five Year Plan: The Framework*, 1955, p. 14.

5. *Ibid*, p. 66.

6. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. 24.



mining the pattern of investment. An employment oriented Plan, however, implies much more than determining the optimum scale of investment. . . . The problem of employment can only be solved after a period of intensive development. Over a short period of five years, however, there may be a degree of conflict as between competing claims of capital formation at a rapid rate and the provision of larger employment.”<sup>1</sup>

Realistic considerations seem to have prevailed in avoiding the term ‘full employment’ as one of the main objectives. This is evident from the fact that considering the magnitude of the then existing unemployment and additions to labour force it would have been incorrect to hold out the hope that full employment could be secured by the end of the Second Plan. However, there was a greater awareness of the employment problem in the Second than in the First Plan. It was the declared policy that since the goal of full employment has to be achieved by a series of planned efforts lasting over a period beyond the Second Plan, for hastening the process, particular attention will have to be paid to maximising the employment potential of projects included in the Plan consistent with the long-term needs.

The employment policy had three more significant aspects during the Second Plan. One was the explicit guidance for programme determination. In the next five years, it was laid down that prime consideration is that at least the deterioration in the unemployment situation should be arrested. The second was the recognition of the growing educated unemployment, the cause for which was that in its evolution, the system of education was not related sufficiently to the needs of economic development. Therefore, it called for long term measures; the expansion and training facilities should be closely linked to the future requirements of the economy and the growth of educational facilities in directions which may accentuate further the problem of educated unemployment should be avoided. Finally, with the employment consciousness was intertwined the income consideration. In the framework, it was observed that the task of creating more employment was not easily distinguishable from that of providing higher incomes. In a sense, as long as the incomes of peasants and craftsmen are raised by providing better techniques, more irrigation and greater demand for their products, it is immaterial whether they work all the year round or not.<sup>2</sup> The Second Plan endorsed the criterion that the quantum of additional work has to be measured not in terms of jobs, but in the form of additional income accruing to them.

Employment objective assumed a special urgency in the Third

1. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Second Five Year Plan*, 1956, p. 26 and 109.

2. Cf. *The Framework*, op. cit., p. 67.

Five Year Plan; "To ensure a substantial expansion in employment opportunity", became the fourth objective of the Third Plan.<sup>1</sup> Especially, the Plan envisaged harnessing the manpower resources available in rural areas to the fullest possible extent.

Probably, for the first time, greater concern was expressed about employment during the Third Plan and a specific programme was initiated. Until the economy is strengthened considerably, it is difficult to provide work at an adequate level of remuneration to the entire labour force. As such, the approach then took two directions: (1) development programmes included in the plan are to be worked in such a way as to yield the maximum employment of which they are capable of; and (2) in fields where manpower can be used intensively, development programmes under the plan can be speeded up and enlarged to the extent necessary in the later stages of the Plan. Action on the line (2) would be required specially in areas with heavy pressure of population and in which there is considerable underemployment. This marked the birth of the Rural Works Programme with the intention to provide on an average 100 days' work in a year during the slack agricultural season for about one lakh persons in the first year, progressively raising to 25 lakh persons in the last year.

From such a position in the Third Plan, one would have expected that in the Fourth Plan, employment objective would get deepened especially with the increasing backlog of unemployment. But, strangely enough, the attention shifted to growth rate and accelerating the progress towards a socialistic society. It should be particularly noted that employment policy did not find a place among the eight objective mentioned in the draft outline of the defunct Fourth Five Year Plan.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding the growing unemployment, employment bias receded somewhat to the background. There was reference to achieving a balance between development and investment on the one hand and growth in employment on the other which is an essential objective of planning. The Old Fourth Plan said that such a balance has to be sought as an indirect rather than as a direct consequence of planning'.<sup>3</sup> Even the test of ability to absorb at least the net addition to labour force, which was so much emphasised in the earlier plans, especially the Second Plan, became secondary. Considerations bearing on employment were taken into account only broadly in terms of policies concerning choice of techniques and programmes for utilising surplus manpower, promotion of village and small-scale industries

1. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Third Five Year Plan*, 1961, pp. 48 and 154.
2. This will be referred hereafter as Old Fourth Five Year Plan. Cf. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Fourth Five Year Plan, Draft Outline*, 1966 p. 16.
3. *Ibid*, p. 196.

or other forms of small-scale activities and self-employment. The Old draft talked of compelling requirements in each sector and declared that "the scope for large changes in the plan from the angle of employment is somewhat limited."<sup>1</sup>

From the viewpoint of future employment policy, great hope was reposed in the creation of new and expansion of existing capacities as well as more efficient use of existing capacities. As an expression of its potential, the Rural Works Programme was thought of as an effective but flexible instrument of rural employment policy.

The new Fourth Five Year Plan brought back employment as a major consideration in its approach. It said "a major objective of the plan is to create more employment opportunities in the rural and urban sectors on an increasing scale."<sup>2</sup> This time, employment objective is mixed with income distribution. In planning, the draft says, "it is necessary to aim at not only at an increase in total income and employment but also at an appropriate distribution of such increase." There is however no mention of 'full employment'. It only goes on to spell out the operative part of the redistributive aim. The objective of fuller employment and social justice will not be realised without stricter economic discipline and greater readiness on the part of the relatively well to do to accept restraints on their rising consumption in order to release resources for faster development of the economy.<sup>3</sup>

The foregoing review discloses varying emphasis on employment objective in the formulation of economic policy. Beginning, as it did, with the Industrial Commission, the urge for industrialisation gained greater momentum and a forward policy was recommended during the 'twenties by the authors of the Constitutional Reforms. In so doing, the necessity of providing alternative employment outlets in industry was recognised.

But, from the commencement of the 'thirties till the closing years of the Second World War, the employment objective received a setback. However, the pledge of full employment was envisaged in one of the non-official plans, viz., The Bombay Plan; and was further endorsed by the Reconstruction Committee, the Central Planning Advisory Board and the Labour Investigation Committee.

Then, the ambitious approach of the non-official bodies was followed by a somewhat non-committal approach of the Government as found in the Industrial Policy Resolution and the First Five Year Plan.

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1. Government of India, Planning Commission, *Fourth Five Year Plan*, 1966.

2. Govt., of India, Planning Commission, *Fourth Five Year Plan 1969-74 (Draft)*, p. 20.

3. *Ibid.* p. 21.



The framework of the Second Plan heralded the transition from the cautious to a bolder approach in so far as the liquidation of unemployment was thought of within a period of not exceeding ten years. The Second Plan did embody the policy considerations involved in the full employment approach; but did not commit itself to any full employment pledge even with no time constraint. The Third Plan put forward a vague employment objective but emphasising the importance of areas where manpower resources can be used intensively directed its efforts to the introduction of an effective and flexible instrument of rural employment policy through the rural works programme. While the Old Fourth Plan envisaged an expansion of the rural manpower programmes to tackle the seasonal rural unemployment, its accent was on a higher growth rate omitting employment as such from the eight objectives that were listed. Employment objective has reappeared in the New Fourth Plan but got tagged on with income redistribution objective.

It will, however, be seen that 'full employment' pledge which was prominent in the proposed plans of the country before independence failed to get incorporated in the post-independence era of development plans which have made so much of fanfare about rapid economic development of the country. From the experience of other advanced countries, it seems clear that unless 'full employment' is made a deliberate objective of economic policy, it is neither possible to attain nor maintain it. No doubt, there is the conflict to some extent among the objectives like a higher growth rate and more employment. If a country cannot plan and achieve a growth rate that absorbs the addition to labour force annually and utilises the manpower resources fully, as is presently the case in India, frequent shifts in the policy declarations regarding employment objective will occur which in turn will take away the much needed continuity for attaining the full employment level. One may take the stand that it is no use giving the 'full employment' pledge since it is too difficult to fulfil. This amounts to an evasion of the country's need. If this pledge cannot be given, the socialist society about which the plan mentions and every budget since the middle of 1969 vociferously speaks about has no meaning. Once the pledge with a time profile is included as an objective, the line of action within the plan framework will be clearer, however, difficult it may be. It is this clarity which is required for firmness in respect of the employment approach in our economic policy. Otherwise, '*ad hocism*' like the short-term increases in plan outlays for creating more employment opportunities, as has happened in the middle of the First Five Year Plan and again in the middle of the so called New Fourth Plan, will become a decisive factor. The consequences of such a policy are too well-known to be elaborated here.

# PROBLEMS OF THE AGED AND LOCAL AUTHORITY

H. M. MARULASIDDAIAH

## Part II

### Local Authorities

Before considering the possible welfare measures that the local authorities can organize, let us understand the nature and functions of such bodies.

William A. Robson says, "in general Local Government may be said to involve the conception of a territorial, non-sovereign community possessing the legal right and the necessary organization to regulate its own affairs. . . . This in turn presupposes the existence of local authority with power to act independently of external control as well as the participation of the local community in the administration of its won affairs".<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the local authority is a local self-government and it is mainly territorial in its conception. The local self-government in India, as stated by M. Venkatarangiah, is understood to-day as "... the administration of a locality, a village, a town, a city or any other area smaller than the State by a body representing the local inhabitants, possessing fairly large amount of autonomy, raising a part at least of its revenue through local taxation and spending the proceeds on services which are regarded as local and as district from the state and central services".<sup>2</sup>

The local authorities, known as Panchayati Raj institutions, are progressively strengthened these days with the expressed intention of promoting the process of democratic decentralisation. The Panchayati Raj was introduced into the entire State of Mysore with the passing of the Mysore Village Panchayats and Local Board Act, 1959 (Mysore Act No. 10 of 1959), and this Act replaced all the earlier Acts operative in the different parts of the new State.

The system is a three-tier structure consisting of the Village Panchayat Committee (V.P.C.) at the bottom, the Taluka Development Board (T.D.B.) in the middle and the District Development Council (D.D.C.) at the top. I shall not deal with the details of the structure of these sub-systems. But I should like to state that the Panchayati Raj is based on the principle of 'compendious' of local authorities and is distinguished from a system of 'ad hoc authorities'. That is to say, the jurisdiction of each authority is territorial rather than functional. The institutions of the Panchayati Raj are, therefore, multi-purpose rather than specialised. They are concerned with all

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1. Quoted by Rajasekharaiah, A. M., p. 446.

2. Ibid. p. 447.

the specific needs and problems of the territory that comes under their jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup>

We should, at the same time, remember to note that one important distinguishing feature of the Panchayati Raj institutions is that the municipal areas which are governed by separate legislations do not have representation on the T.D.B. or on the D.D.C.

The main functions of the Panchayati Raj can be broadly divided into two, namely obligatory and discretionary each of which in turn can be divided into three functions, namely civic, regulatory and developmental. The types of functions vary from the Village Panchayat and the T.D.B.

The *obligatory civic functions* of the Panchayat are: cleaning of public roads, drains, tanks and wells and other public places or works, lighting the village, maintenance and regulation of burning and burial grounds, preventive and remedial measures against epidemics, disposal of unclaimed corpses and carcasses and unclaimed cattle and construction and maintenance of public latrines.

Under the *obligatory regulatory functions* the following are included: removal of obstructions and projections on public streets, regulation of buildings, shops, shows and eating and other entertainment houses, maintenance of cattle pounds, allotment of places for storing manure, regulation of sale and preservation of meat, fish and other perishable articles of food, regulation of the collection, removal and disposal of manure and sweeping. Other similar functions are also included under this category.

The *obligatory developmental functions of the Panchayat* are these: construction, repair and maintenance of public wells, ponds and tanks, planting and preservation of trees, and promotion and development of economic conditions with special reference to agriculture.

The *discretionary civic functions* of the Panchayat are: construction and maintenance of slaughter houses, establishment and maintenance of markets, assisting in extinguishing fires, *relief to destitute and sick, construction and maintenance of dharmashalas and chatrams* etc.

Under the *discretionary regulatory functions* the following are included: destruction of rats, stray and ownerless dogs, management and control of bathing ghats, watch and ward of the village, and crops therein, regulating, curing, tanning and dyeing of skins and hides.

The *discretionary developmental functions* are: general care of the live stock and improvement of cattle, promotion, improvement and encouragement of cottage industries, *establishment and maintenance of dispensaries and maternity and child welfare centres*, veterinary

3. Dubhashi, P. R., p. 506.



relief, encouragement and development of cooperation, *mobilisation of voluntary labour for community work, welfare of the schedule castes*, village libraries and reading rooms, lay-out and maintenance of play-grounds for village children and public gardens.

Besides these, the Panchayat has land management functions that include distribution of irrigation water, management and maintenance of forests, waste-weir, pasture lands or vacant lands assumed by the government, common lands, the lands of those who are unable to cultivate and taken over by the government.

Coming to the T.D.Bs., we find the following functions which are *obligatory* and *civic* in nature: promotion of vaccination, control of public health and sanitation during jathras, fairs or festivals as well as sanitation and health measures generally.

The *regulatory* functions, which are obligatory, are: management of public fairs, regulation of fairs and festivals, establishment and control of shandies.

There are certain developmental functions such as road construction.

The T.D.Bs. also have *discretionary functions* that they can undertake, of course with the previous approval of the government. Some of such functions are the *organization of relief works in times of famine and scarcity, contributing towards public funds for relief of human sufferings* etc.

Coming to the D.D.Cs, we find that they stand apart as authorities in their structure and functions from the Panchayats and the T.D.Bs. They are to scrutinize and approve the budgets of the T.D.Bs, review their work, guide and assist in their work, coordinate their work and other works entrusted to them by the T.D.Bs.

These local bodies, particularly the Panchayats and the T.D.Bs., are to function in accordance with the rules laid down in the Act. There are statutory and permissive committees that the Panchayats can have. The statutory committees are: (1) Agricultural Committee, (2) Health Committee, and (3) Village Industries Committee. The Panchayats are permitted to appoint in addition one or two more committees to perform other functions. Besides, there is a provision for coopting of members from local organizations such as Farmers' Clubs, Mahila Mandalas (Women's clubs) and Yuvak Mandalas (Youth Clubs).

The T.D.Bs. have also a similar provision. But the Committees are called as Standing Committees, which are expected to function continuously and, therefore, are distinguishable from the ad hoc committees.

So far we have seen the functions and administrative structures of the Panchayati Raj institutions. The reason for giving the long list of functions is to show that, excepting in the area of discretionary

functions, there is no place for the local authorities to take up social welfare services not to speak of the welfare services for the aged. However, the discretionary functions can be fully used to develop the welfare services.

Coming to the municipal bodies in Mysore State, we see that they are governed by separate legislations. The Municipal Corporation of Bangalore, with which we are particularly concerned, is run under a separate act called 'The Bangalore Corporation Act, 1949'. The Council consists of the elected members; a mayor and a deputy mayor are elected from among the members once a year. There are standing committees for accounts, health, taxation and finance, town planning and improvements, works and education.

Before 1956, the Corporation had an officer to look after the welfare of the Depressed Classes (now called the Scheduled Castes). But the activities were transferred to the District Welfare Officer appointed by the State Government for this purpose. So the Corporation at present does not have a separate department of welfare. However, it runs 24 maternity and child welfare centres, a number of nursery schools, and contributes to the voluntary welfare agencies a prescribed amount as annual grants. Otherwise there are no welfare services as such organised by the Corporation. It appears it is an all India feature. For, V. Jagannadham makes the following observation about local governments: "There is hardly any reference in the replies to the questionnaire about social welfare organizations in the urban local governments. Very few directorates of welfare seem to have bestowed any thought about the role of municipalities and municipal corporations in relation to social welfare in urban areas. There is, according to the available knowledge hardly any municipal body, either mofussil or metropolitan, which has a social welfare department as part of its governmental set-up".<sup>4</sup>

### **Welfare Measures**

On the basis of what is said earlier it is clear that the local authorities have not been playing any role of importance in the field of social welfare. However, the local authorities are better suited to carry out welfare programmes including the welfare services for the aged. Therefore, it is essential that welfare departments are created in the municipal bodies and T.D.Bs. In the Mysore State there is a Directorate of Social Welfare which has district units in charge of District Social Welfare Officers. Besides this, there is a department of Probation and After-Care Services, or the Inspectorate of Certified Schools, and the Director of Social Welfare is working as an Ex-officio Chief

4. Jagannadham V., pp. 78-79.

Inspector of Certified Schools. This department has a number of remand homes, certified schools, state homes for men and women and vigilance shelters. The departments that may be attached to local bodies may take the assistance of the Directorate of Social Welfare and the Department of Probation and After-Care Services. Besides, they can seek help from the Central Social Welfare Board, and other voluntary welfare organisations. Since the Block Development authorities are closely connected with Panchayati Raj institutions, it is not difficult to utilise the services of their personnel.

As is suggested earlier, there should be a department of social welfare attached to each of the T.D.Bs. A trained social worker (one who has a bachelor's degree in social work if not a post-graduate degree) should be appointed to look after the welfare needs of the taluka with the assistance of and in cooperation with the personnel of Block Development Office, the District Social Welfare Officer, the District Probation Officer, the Mukhya Sevika of the C.S.W.B., the voluntary social workers of the region. The social worker should also carry out research on the welfare needs of the taluka besides being in charge of welfare services.

As has already been mentioned, the aged are suffering from emotional, medical and economic problems.\* A word of comfort will help them a lot. As a case worker the social worker can help the aged. There is a provision for developing Dharmashalas and Chatrams. The worker can try to induce voluntary workers in assisting his work of organising Dharmashalas for the destitutes and the aged.

It was found on an enquiry that villagers were not ready to move away from their native place to any other community to live in the homes established to look after the aged, though all facilities were provided there.<sup>5</sup> So food, clothes and shelter and other facilities have to be provided at their own places. They should not be removed from their familiar surroundings. The State Government is paying Rs. 15/- per month\* to the destitute aged, i.e. those who are 70 and above and in the cases of those who are 65 and above and physically handicapped. The Panchayat and T.D.B. can collect this money directly and help the aged by contributing to the fund from its own funds. The needs and the problems are to be worked out and programmes are to be developed for the aged to be implemented as far as possible in their families. There is a possibility of the relatives becoming kind to such aged if they are helped by local bodies.

In case there are really destitutes who are ready to live together, the T.D.B. can establish and maintain a home for the aged at the

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\*See the first part of this paper in the previous issue of the Journal.

5. See Marulasiddaiah, H. M., chap. 9.

\*From 1970 the sum is raised to Rs. 30 P.M.



Taluka Headquarters or in any of the convenient villages. This home can be managed like any other welfare agency.

Besides directly undertaking welfare services for the aged, the local bodies can encourage voluntary workers and some associations, such as Mahila Mandalas, Youth Clubs etc., to take up welfare work for the aged as well as for others.

However, one thing that the local authorities must remember is that the traditional measures of security are very important, and they should be fully exploited. For example, the neglectful sons can be compelled to give adequate 'Jeevanamsa', in case they are not ready to have their parents with them.

The urban communities are to be differently treated, for they are heterogeneous in nature and the aged are mostly without any deep roots in it. They generally live away from their close relatives, or if they are with their relatives it is not sure whether they would be of any use in overcoming their problems. So the needs and problems must be differently approached.

I fully agree with Professor Jagannadham, who says that "it is . . . better and easier to start . . . a separate department of social welfare in municipal government institutions and allow it to build up urban community development programmes from a position of strength, conviction, experience and resources."<sup>6</sup> There should be a fully trained social worker with some assistant welfare workers attached to the welfare department. This department of welfare can coordinate with the work of the departments of health and education. The welfare worker can take the help of the District Social Welfare Officer, Probation Officer, organisers of various voluntary welfare agencies and industrialists. The services for the aged must, therefore, be the result of co-ordination of all of them.

I shall now suggest a few service programmes that the welfare department can undertake in collaboration with other bodies and individuals.

(1) **Housing:** It has been the experience of the urban sociologists and demographers that people who get urban employment generally migrate from their native places leaving their aged parents behind. One of the main reasons for this is the lack of housing facilities in the city. The houses are small, dingy and the rents are prohibitively high. It becomes rather difficult for the sons and others to have the aged with them and adjust themselves to their needs. Further, it is very difficult for the aged to live in the multi-storeyed buildings due to their physical incapacity to climb up and down the stairs.

Therefore, the welfare department with the help of the rent con-

6. Jagannadham, V., p. 79.

troller's office can help those who have the aged in their families in getting convenient houses and that too as quickly as possible. As a result of this help the sons may develop a sense of gratitude towards their parents.

(2) **Home Service:** There might be older couple who do not like to live with or are not wanted by their relatives.\* They may not also like to stay in the homes for the aged. Such couples would like to stay away from their relatives, or they may like to stay separately but very near their relatives. Such people need some assistance of some one who is trained in nursing and who can also get things from the market and keep the house.

The Department can assist such persons by sending its staff or may arrange to get domestic servants who are reliable and sympathetic in their attitudes towards the aged.

Such home service may also be needed by the relatives of the aged who want some relief. The son or the daughter-in-law or the daughter who looks after the older person needs rest. If some one is available to look after the older person, there would be a great relief for the relatives.

(3) **Night Service:** It is mostly at night that the aged require assistance. The sympathetic neighbour can help the relatives of the aged by attending on the ailing person.

The Welfare Department can mobilize those people who are interested in doing such services. An army of such voluntary workers is to be created. A nominal sum will have to be paid to such workers who would render such services.

(4) **Seniors' Clubs:** Cities are places where retired persons spend their time. They need quiet places where they can meet their friends, discuss their problems, play with them and get recreated. The Welfare Department may organize Seniors' Clubs at convenient places where necessary materials are provided. The retired persons may be encouraged to become members of the clubs so that they will feel a sense of responsibility, usefulness and they would see meaning in the last days of their life.

(5) **'Not Old But Gold' Programme:** Not all the aged are disabled or incapable of being useful to others. Though they themselves need services they have potentialities to help other needy persons. Those persons who have not planned their retired life beforehand find it hard to spend time as a result of which they become frustrated. Therefore, depending on their previous experience, their physical and

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\*A Kannada proverb says: "Weared out by working and therefore got our family divided. But what a fate! The parents-in-law have come to our share (to be protected)!"

intellectual capacities suitable welfare services can be rendered by them. They can work as honorary workers in the various voluntary welfare agencies. They should be made to realise that they are not too old to be of any use; and they should also realise that they are like gold mine. They should feel proud to be old and to be of some use to the others. To involve them in social welfare work means making them feel that their worth is recognised. Thus they would not only derive a sense of satisfaction for themselves but they would also become very much useful to the other handicapped persons. The social workers in India should understand that it has not yet become possible for the welfare agencies to pay the trained social workers as much as they should be paid, though there is a great need for the services of social workers. Under this circumstance the old people who have had sufficient experience in their fields of work and who had developed meaningful relationships with the leaders of the community and with various associations and institutions would be of immense use to the voluntary agencies.

(6) **Health Visit:** In Bangalore, there are a few health visitors employed by the health department of the Municipal Corporation. They are attached to maternity and child welfare centres and they are given a portion of the community to each of them to cover. They are expected to visit families coming under their jurisdiction, to make enquiries about the health of infants, children, pregnant, and to suggest measures if they find any person suffering from any disease. They are also expected to take such persons to the welfare centre of the ward and help them.

This kind of service may also be extended to the aged. Health visitors particularly trained in the care of the aged are to be appointed for the purpose. It is not out of place if it is mentioned that the hospitals are usually crowded and the aged have to wait for long hours. Therefore, the help of the health visitors is absolutely essential. Along with the health department, the Welfare Department can assist the aged in this way. But it should be stated here that a large number of health visitors is necessary. I am forced to make this statement for there were only 6 health visitors in Bangalore with a population of 13 lakhs (in 1967).

(7) **Geriatric Clinics:** Health visitors are necessary, no doubt, but certain diseases peculiar to old age cannot be treated at their homes or in the general hospitals. The aged, therefore, need special (i.e. geriatric) clinics. The geriatric clinics may be organized in the already existing hospitals or may be opened separately for the purpose. The clinics cannot, of course, be established all over the city. Arrangements, therefore, for transporting the ailing aged from their homes to



the clinics and back should be made. The health department of the municipal corporation may maintain an ambulance, and its services may be used with the assistance of the staff members of the Welfare Department. Each of the geriatric clinics or initially a group of nearby clinics should have a trained medical social worker who will be supervised by the chief of the Welfare Department.

(8) **'Meals on Wheels'**: There is an interesting scheme in London.<sup>7</sup> Suitable food is packed, and it is wheeled to the localities where the aged stay. The food packets are sold at cheaper rates, or they are freely distributed. This scheme is called 'Meals on Wheels'.

Similar scheme can also be adopted in the highly industrialised cities. The health department and the Welfare Department with the assistance of the department of food, voluntary organisations such as Rotary Club, Lions Club, Chamber of Commerce etc., can develop this scheme. This kind of help relieves a lot of tension in the family, and the aged will have the feeling of security.

(9) **Homes for the Aged**: It is necessary to help the aged when they are in their natural surroundings before they are taken to the homes organised for them. When it is found that certain persons need custodial care in the institutions, homes are to be established for them. In the urban communities, particularly in the cities like Bangalore, there are a large number of destitute older persons who need such a help. Therefore, the Welfare Department can establish homes for the aged in convenient places and provide institutional care for them.

The Corporation may find it difficult to find finances for such a project of establishing welfare department and organising welfare measures for the aged. There are certain resources that the Corporation can tap. For instance, there is a traditional practice among the merchants to give charities to beggars on auspicious days like Fridays. They can be persuaded to contribute to the General Fund to be created in the Corporation for the purpose of protecting the aged; the voluntary organisations may be invited to contribute funds or participate in fund-raising campaign; old age pension amount paid by the Government can be collected directly on behalf of the pensioners; and some productive activities can be undertaken in which the aged can take part.

## **Conclusion**

Our society is undergoing a rapid change which has brought in its train a number of problems including those of the aged. It may appear that the problems of the aged are not severe. But there are trends that indicate that they are soon going to be so. Therefore it is

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7. See Ruck, S. K.

necessary to plan adequately and in time. And I have no doubt that the local authorities who have the most intimate knowledge of these problems can take up suitable welfare measures with great success.

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## A MODI DOCUMENT RELATING TO KARNATAKA HISTORY

K. N. CHITNIS

**T**here are a number of Modi documents in the Deccan College Historical Museum, Poona, relating to the history of Karnataka of the post-Vijayanagara period. It is proposed to give here the text of an unpublished document (Rumal No. 74, File No. 8, Paper No. 6) together with an introduction in English. The present document is a news-letter dated 26th August (1787) written by Baburao Bhaskar, a Maratha officer in Karnataka, to Nana Phadnis about the warlike activities of the Mysore forces in the Dharwar region, about the relative strength of Tipu's forces and Maratha forces, and about the skirmishes between the two antagonistic armies.

When the Marathas concluded the Treaty of Salbai with the English in 1782 without consulting Hyder Ali who was also a party to the anti-British confederacy organized by Nana Phadnis, the Mysore dictator felt highly offended, and set out for seizing Maratha territories in Karnataka. After his death, his son Tipu Sultan swooped down on the Maratha vassals bringing under his sway Badami, Nargund and Kittur in quick succession. He overran the Doab between the Malaprabha and the Ghataprabha and was threatening the fortress of Miraj itself, the capital of the Patwardhans.

As a reply to these warlike activities of Tipu, Nana despatched Maratha troops under Tukoji Holkar, Haripant Phadke, Behere and other commanders. He himself set out for Badami with a view to retrieving the Maratha prestige in Karnataka. Badami fell on 21st May, and Gajendragad on 8th June, 1786.

Tipu, burning with vengeance, seized Adoni and was knocking at the gates of Savanur, an ally of the Marathas. In spite of the tremendous efforts made by the Marathas to subdue Tipu, the latter managed to win a resounding victory over them on 10th October 1786. Owing to adverse circumstances, however, both the parties were obliged to conclude a treaty at Gajendragad in March 1787, by which Tipu was to pay the arrears of tribute to the Marathas besides handing over Badami, Nargund and Kittur to them, Adoni to Nizam Ali and Savanur to its Nawab.

Notwithstanding this treaty of Gajendragad, the relations between Tipu and the Marathas remained strained, each trying to gain an upper hand over the other. It was under such circumstances that



Baburao Bhaskar wrote the present news-letter to Nana Phadnis, apprising him of the political situation obtaining in the Dharwar region.

According to the news-letter, Tipu's forces consisting of 10,000-12,000 foot, 2,000-3,000 horse and 16-17 guns came to Dharwar from Hubli in August 1787. From there they advanced to Narendra, and from there marched to a spot lying at a distance of 8 miles (from Dharwar). This army included a number of notable Sardars such as Syed Hamid.

Earlier, Subrao Mohita had endeavoured in vain to capture Kittur for Tipu. Therefore he wrote to Tipu Sultan staying at Bangalore, that the Dharwar Prant was threatened by Kitturkar (Mallasarja Desai) and that in case Tipu's forces did not come to Dharwar immediately, the whole area was in danger of being devastated by the enemy. On receiving 2-3 letters from Mohita to this effect, Tipu ordered his forces encamping on the banks of the Tungabhadra to capture Kittur, to storm the fortresses and to carry in carts the stones from Kittur to Dharwar. Accordingly, those troops advanced towards Kittur by rapid marches.

As a reply to this the Marathas also got ready for the battle. On the eve of their fight with Tipu's forces, the Marathas could manage to mobilise 10,000 foot, 1,000 horse and 2 guns, of which 4,500 men, 2,500-3,000 horse and 2 guns were contributed by Ramapa and Rudrappa (Ramappa and Rudrappa) of Kittur.

Mohita headed the patrol party which faced the Marathas first. In the fight Mohita was repulsed as far back as Tegur. He lost about 30 men, killed and wounded, whereas on the Maratha side about 5 men were wounded and one horse killed. While retreating Mohita plundered Metehal, a small village, on the way. But the Maratha forces at Sigehalli put him to flight, his casualties being 9 men and 2 horse, killed and about 35 men and 7 horses wounded. Frightened by the Maratha success in these hostilities, Mysore forces at Narendra went southwards beyond Dharwar, Mohita's forces were encamping between Tegur and Singanahalli.

The Marathas had to face a difficult situation. Things had become very dear. They were compelled to remit customs duties on foodgrains brought for sale. The foodgrains were selling at the rate of 10 seers (2 *payilis*) per rupee. Two to four *Sarafi* shops and ten to twelve grocery shops were set up. Nana Phadnis was advised to request Tipu to withdraw his army and recall Mohita who had become a nuisance to the people of this area. The Marathas expressed their willingness to take Tegur if Nana Phadnis so ordered them.

## श्री

पौ। छ २४ जिलकाद

समान श्रावण

श्रीमंत राजश्री नाना

स्वामीचे सेवेसी

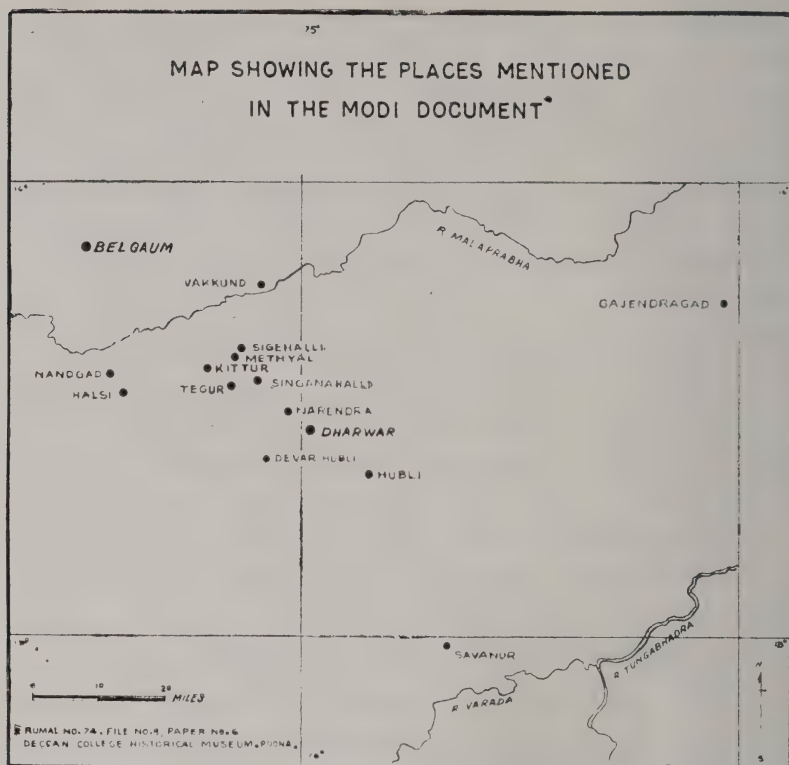
विनंती सेवक बाबुराव भास्कर कृतानेक सा। नमस्कार विज्ञापना येथील क्षो। ता छ १२ जिलकाद पावेतो स्वामीचे कृपेकरून वर्तमान यथास्थित असे विशेष इकडील वर्तमान तरी टिपू सुलतान याची फौज हुबली हून धारवाडास आली तेथून नरेंद्रावर येथून चौकोसावर आली हे पेशजी सेवेसी लिहिलेच आहे फौज भारी तोफा सोला सत्रा स्वार दोन तीन हजार चांगला व बार दाहा बारा हजार व गोडे कामाठी बेलदार वगैरे सामान पोस्त सरदार सैदसोहब वकील व सैदहमीब वगैरे सरदार मिलोन यावयाचे कारण की सुभराव मोहिता तेथून येताना करार करून आला जे कितूर मी हुरतहेंने देसायाचे नावे करून कारभारी बराबर ध्यावे मी संस्थान घेतो ति गोष्ट न जाली तेव्हा बेंगळूरुस टिपू सुलतान यास लिहिले की मी करार करून आलों ती भटी बिघडली आता कितूरकराजवळ सामान भारी माझ्याने कामे रेटत नाहीं, व कितूरकराचे दहशतीने धारवाड प्रांत तमाम उज्याड जाला फौजा मातवर आल्या तर बरे नाही तर प्रांत उज्याड जाला किला जाईल की राहील कलेना असे मनमाने तैसे दोनतीन पत्रे पाठविली तेंव्हा आधीच टिपू त्यात याणे असे लिहिले त्याजवरून या फौजा तुंगभद्रेवर होत्या त्यास लिहिले की तुम्ही जाऊन कितूर घेऊन गढया पाहून गाड्यावर दगड घालून धारवाडास आणणे त्याजवरून मजल दरमजल फौजा भेऊन पोहोचल्या त्याचा दाब भारी माणूस दहशत खाऊन प्राण टाकितें तेव्हा राजश्री रामपा व रुद्रापा आम्हाजवळ होते त्याच्या पाठी थापटून व अलीकडे काही काही रयत व काटक ममतेत घेतले आहेत तें साडेच्यार हजार काटक जमा केले व स्वार काटकाचे आडीच तीनसे पर्यंत जमा केले गांव तमाम दमला आधीच दुष्काल सात सेर धारण होती मग तो शेर दाणा न मिले तेव्हा सारे कतवार आम्ही काढून घेऊन सडे जाहालो व दोन तोफा रामपाच्या गंधीकवाड येथे होत्या त्यास आणशपत व दरम्यान ग्रहस्त वेऊन आणील्या व कर्याती कर्याती नीवटाणी वगैरे येथे आमचे लोक होते ते सारे जमा केले स्थल राहिले तरी सारे आपले तेंव्हा दाहा हजार पायदल व हजार स्वार व दोन तोफा आम्हाजवळ जमा जाले आणि लडाईस मुस्तेंद जालो सुभराव मोहिता सैदसाहेबास म्हणाला जे मज बराबर थोडेंसे सामान द्यावे तलाव्यास जातो म्हणजे तें ठाणे टाकून पलतात तेव्हा काही सामान त्याणी दिव्हे व मोहिता बमय सामान सुधा तलाव्यास आले आमचे सामान बाहेर निधोन लडाईचे तोंड लागले त्यास स्वामीचे प्रतापे ते मोडून तेगुरास घातले त्याजकडील पंचवीस तीस माणूस

ठार व जखमी जाले आम्हाकडील च्यार पाच जखमी जाले व येक घोडे सिलेदाराकडील ठार जाले दुसरे दिवसी सीगेहली नजीक मौजे मेटेहाल लाहान गांव आहे तेथे मोहिता आपलेच सामानानिसी येऊन गांव वेढून लुटीत होता तो सीगेहलीत आमचे लोक होते ते व काटक जाऊन पोहोचले त्याणी याजवर बेजरब चालोन घेतले तेव्हा याणी दोन घोडी ठार व पाचसात घोडी जखमी केली व माणसे तीस पस्तीस जखमी व नऊ माणसे ठार केली त्याचा मोड जाला मग पलीन गेला आमचे कुमकेपूर्वी शंभर सवासे गुरे व चिंधी चोला केला तेव्हा नरेंद्राचे पौजेस विचार पडला मग रात्रदिवस छबीना ठेऊन हुशार राहू लागले व टिपूसही लिहिले की येथील विचार असा आहे तेव्हा तेथून काय उत्तर आले हे न कले नरेंद्रावर फौज होती ते कूच करून धारवाडचे पली कडील भागास उतरले आहेत काय मनसब आहे हा समजत नाही मोहित्याचा मात्र जमाव सींगनहली तेगूर येथे आहे येथे माहागाई फार जाहली यास्तव तमाम कार्यातीस ताकीद करून दाण्याची पेवे काढऊन जकातीची माफी करून दाणा विकावयास आणविला आता दोन पाहलीची धारण जाली व दोनच्यार सराफाची दुकाने व दाहाबारा वाणीयाची दुकाने आणिली सर्व प्रताप स्वामीचा आमचे कर्तुत्व नव्हे पुढे काय होईल ते सेवेसी लिहू टिपूकडे पत्रे जाऊन या फौजा माघान्या जाव्या व मोहिता येथून निघाल्यासिवाये तालुक्यास चैन पडत न नाही रात्रदिवस कटार आहे बखेडा वारल्याने सिबंधी थोडी पुरेल व लावणी होऊन सरकारात पैसा येईल असे आहे व बद्धर जमालखान यास अलकाबा चांगला लिहून पत्र पाठविले पाहिजे व टिपू सुलतान यास पत्रे जावी निदान वकील जावा म्हणजे सर्व बंदोबस्त होईल चेनापटणाकडील काहीसा व आदवानीकडील पायबंद लागला आहे म्हणोन इकडे वर्तमान आहे स्वामीनी खर्चास पंच्यवीस हजार रुपये पाठविले तें या प्रसंगी बहूत उपयोगी पडले आमची आबरू स्वामीनी रक्षिली सेवेसी श्रुत होये हे विज्ञापना.

बातमीची माणसे धारवाडाहून आली सारी फौज धारवाडाहून हुबलीवर उतरली धारवाडावर पौज होती ती आज कूच करून रायहुबलीवर मुकाम केला आहे येथून धारवाड साहा कोस तेथून पूर्वेंस तीनकोस हुबली आहे येथून नऊ कोस गेले ही फौज पुढे तिकडे कबल्यावर आज्ञा जाहल्यास तेगूर घेऊ त्या पा। धारवाडाकडे आसेले नाही मोहित्याकडेच पेशजी हंदरखानाचे वेलेस तह जाहाला तेव्हा कितूराखाली चालत होते प्रस्तुत राजश्री भाऊकडील डोडवाल व नंदगेडीकाप दौलतराव घोरपडेकडील कितूर तालुक्याची खेडी ती याणी घेतली त्याचा बंदोबस्त धारवाडाहून केला आहे तेगूर मोहित्याकडे परभारे देविला आहे त्याचा बंदोबस्त धारवाडाकडे नाही तेगूर कितूरापा। आर्ध कोस आहे हे त्याजकडे याजमुळे येथील गवत काढीव लाकूडफाटे बंद जाहाले तेगुरचे आस(ल्या)ने रानात प्यादे दिवस रात्र राहून इकडे माणसास मारहाण करिता व धरून नेतात याजमुळे मोठा उपद्रव आहे याजकरिता तेगूर द्यावयाविसी येक दोन वेळ विनंती लि। परंतु उत्तर आले नाही त्यास ध्यावा किंवा न ध्यावा ही आज्ञा असावी बा।  
हे विनंती







## CULTURAL FACTORS IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

B. H. AMATI

**T**his paper attempts to make a sociological analysis of the Community Development Programmes with special reference to cultural factors in India.

The Government of India after independence initiated a programme of Community Development with a view to bring about planned socio-economic development of villages. The essence of this approach is to make the process of development self-sustaining. So it is designed to promote alround development for the whole rural community with active participation and if possible on the initiative of the members of the community. The major postulates of the movement according to the philosophy of the Community Development Programme are:

- i) "The self-initiative of the people both in formulating and executing the programmes;
- ii) generating and organizing the scheme of a large number of voluntary associations almost of the primary group nature and also a wide variety of local institutions;
- iii) reliance upon group work technique;
- iv) active participation of the people in all the stages of the implementation of the programme; and
- v) a governmental administrative machinery which acts as an assisting body encouraging and stimulating the creative initiative and participation of the people through their voluntary associations and local institutions. The personnel of the administrative machinery at all levels should not merely be equipped with administrative and other technical skills, but must be fairly well-versed in social skills, based on the knowledge of social laws, about voluntary associations and community participation.<sup>1</sup>

The Community Development Programme was the first organized experiment in the field of rural development in India after independence. India adopted a Community Development—extension programme not merely as a method for doing extension work but also as a method to be used in the reconstruction of Indian rural society. The programme which was started 19 years ago was the most significant part of the First Five Year Plan and every body was looking for

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1. Carl C. Taylor – as quoted by A. R. Desai – Rural India in Transition, p. 71.



something spectacular because it sought to effect a change in the mental outlook of the people and instill in them ambition for higher standards of life. At present the entire rural community is covered by the Community Development Blocks.

The impact of the Community Development Programme has been subjected to analysis and evaluation by a number of scholars and organizations. Wilson, Carl Taylor, Lewis, Dube, Mandelbaum and many others have attempted to assess the impact of the Community Development Projects in the revitalization of rural communities. The programme evaluation organization and the Balwantrai Committee reports are the latest comprehensive and systematic analysis of Community Development Projects. We shall point out here some of the major findings of these scholars and committees.

Various studies reveal the fact that the governmental machinery has not still assimilated the true spirit and lacks the missionary zeal underlying the entire programme. The Community Development Programme is operated merely as an executive assignment. Taylor is of the opinion that the administration of the programme is predominantly based on aid from, and reliance on the Government. According to him a certain amount of active governmental participation was inevitable in a country like India during the earlier phases of the movement. But if that earlier phase was not crossed over and if the Government did not elicit active participation and self-initiative from the people, the basis of the Community Development Programme would crumble. Dube feels that the "Planning so far appears to be from the top down".<sup>2</sup> Policy making has mostly been done by the authorities at the higher levels who communicate decisions in the form of directives to the lower levels. The officials as well as the representatives of the people associated with them enter the scene to implement these policies and directives. Thus communication is mostly one-way and from top-down. According to Prof. Dube Government servants function as bureaucrats and have not become agents of change with an active social service mentality.

According to these thinkers the ineffectiveness of the Community Development Programme are due to ignorance on the part of the people, lack of will, technical and social skills on the part of the personnel, faulty organizational principles, fatalism and apathy of a considerable part of the village population, suspicion and distrust of officials and outsiders, the conflict between the officials and people's representatives, tradition and cultural factors. Here I am touching mainly upon the cultural factors in the Community Development Programme.

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2. S. C. Dube, *India's changing Villages*, p. 100.

Cultural pattern is a unique phenomenon of every society and it not only distinguishes societies from one another but also gives direction to human activities. It is due to this fact that individuals always act within the framework of culture. "Behavior is often so deliberately modelled in accord with a cultural pattern that action without thought and deliberation is literally possible".<sup>3</sup>

Detailed case studies in the field of rural Community Development in many developing areas of the world reveal the fact that cultural factors play an important role in the acceptance or rejection of innovations sponsored by the development agencies. Rural extension workers have realized at every step in their work that even some of the less involved technological or economic innovations have latent cultural or social dimensions. There are evidences to suggest that the process of communication is determined and controlled to a great extent by the cultural pre-disposition of the community. The initial response to and the ultimate acceptance of the rural extension agents who mix and work very closely with the villagers and who act as opinion leaders preparing the ground for change are governed by the cultural factors. Therefore the acceptance of the programme itself is determined to a considerable extent by a variety of complex cultural factors ranging from simple habits and social practices to the intricate patterns of belief, social structure, values, attitudes etc.

Perhaps the influence of cultural factors in farming stands out in clearest perspective when the behavior of people with different cultural backgrounds are compared. In his book "Adoption of New Ideas And Practices", Herbert F. Lionberger cites the example of farm practices in Wisconsin. It was found that Danish farmers had adopted many more improved dairy practices than Polish farmers. The Danish farmers had been accustomed to dairy farming in their own country. They had a healthy respect for intellectual pursuits and freedom of choice for individuals. Polish farmers, having accustomed to oppressive restriction and economic deprivation in their home land, placed a high premium on security and primary group conformity. Sons were expected to farm as their fathers did, and not to make decisions independent of them. Owning a farm free of debt was a symbol of security highly cherished by old and young alike. All members of the family were expected to work to that end. Deviation from approved and accepted ways of farming was regarded a threat to this central objective that could not be tolerated. It was thus apparent that many desirable changes in farming had been rejected on grounds other than sound management.

Another example of how cultural factors can influence farm operations and practices is the behavior of Amish farmers who were

3. Herbert F. Lionberger - Adoption of New Ideas And Practices, p. 90.

denied the use of telephones, automobiles, tractors for some purposes and electricity in the home because of religious convictions. By looking at examples such as these it is easy to see how the culture of a people can be an important conditioning factor in accepting changes in farming.

Even with advanced science and technology adherence to tradition in farming is apparent in the persistent use of antiquated farm practices when better ones are available, and in the persistence of one type of farming in an area where another is better suited.

Extension agents have experienced hardships while introducing improved seeds and fertilizers. In a village of the Western U.P. Community Development Project studied by Dube, People were familiar with peas and had been growing a degenerate local variety of it as a fodder crop. People being unfamiliar with its use as food, wondered why they should spend more on buying an improved seed for a crop to be grown primarily for consumption by cattle. Also the success of the project in introducing the new crop was hampered because the people were not sure about its utility in terms of the everyday needs of the community. He also cites the example of a case where very few people were enthusiastic about taking up vegetable growing on a reasonable scale because in their view, vegetable formed a delicacy or a kind of embellishment to the diet, but was not considered a staple or a necessary part of the diet. For their novelty and prestige as an urban item of diet, some people were willing to grow vegetables on small patches of land. But because of the commonly held views regarding the place and importance of vegetables in daily diet, the people were unwilling to extend this cultivation.

Habits and tastes are a matter of culture. Regional variations in habits and tastes correspond to the cultural variations. So habits and tastes determine the initial response of the community to a large number of innovations initiated by the Community Development Programmes. The improved varieties of hybrid Jowar promoted by the project were in the beginning not very enthusiastically received by the villagers because of their flat taste and supposed lack of general health building qualities. But generally the superiority of the new seed in respect to its proportionately higher yield and better marketability was accepted. But when it came to making a choice on grounds of taste, flavour, digestibility and general health-building qualities, the preference was unmistakably for the traditional local variety.

Force of habit influences the attitude of the people towards many programmes undertaken in the Community Development Projects. Crop pattern is one of the important items in scientific cultivation. A farmer is expected to know the nature of crops to be grown and the rotation of crops in a piece of land. A knowledge of the comparative



yields in terms of money is all the more important in farming. But unfortunately farmers still adhere to their antiquated style in the crop pattern. While there is general agreement that a new type of crop pattern is more useful and beneficial than the previous one still they continue to follow the age-old system.

Similarly the compost pits were dug initially as progressive measures towards modernization of agriculture. Incentives were also given to popularize the use of compost pits. But in course of time the compost pits dug outside the village were used mostly as public latrines. The use of compost manure for green revolution is now only in theory.

Beliefs held by the rural people resisted many progressive programmes of change in a number of fields. Traditional practices rooted in beliefs offer obstacles to the acceptance of a wide variety of programmes. For example extension workers have been trying to introduce fertilizers so as to enhance the fertility of the soil. But the villagers spend a part of the amount for fairs, festivals and they also believe in the sacrificing of animals for increasing the fertility of the fields.

Similarly the role of beliefs and practices can also be seen in the field of rural health and hygiene. For example, small pox, chicken pox, cholera, influenza and many other diseases and epidemics of men and animals are attributed to the displeasure or wrath of Gods and Goddesses. Since these diseases are believed to be due to some sacrilegious act they can be cured only by propitiating the indignant deities by appropriate gifts and sacrifices. Any effort on the part of the afflicted to seek the help of medicine to cure the diseases is not only futile but a positive affront to the celestial powers.

Attitudes, values and social relations also shape the course of development projects and decide their outcome most powerfully. In this respect it is necessary to consider the village people's attitude towards the development projects and their view of change. With regard to the developmental activities and the promoters of change there are considerable misgivings. Very few people have grasped the personal and national significance of the development plans. For example, some people read in these plans ulterior political motives. It is a common view among villagers that the development workers have their own vested interests and are not animated by any higher motives of national development. This view unfortunately is fostered by the villager's experience with Government officials. The hiatus between the people and the official still continues and the officials have not as yet won the confidence of the villagers who view them with reserve and distrust. This attitude projects itself into action situations which call for joint participation by officials and the people and thus hinders the progress.

Values may be regarded as importance ratings which people attach to things, conditions and circumstances. They may also be regarded as goal objects to which people orient their thinking, actions and feelings. As such they become important organizing themes in the behavior of individuals. Hence they are no less significant in determining the people's attitude towards programmes offered to them by the Community Development Project. People commonly agree to work for the prosperity, good name and enhancement of the prestige of the family and the kin groups. But certain castes with the notion of purity and pollution and of high and low occupations hesitate to take up certain occupations such as poultry keeping, fish canning, leather work, tailoring etc.

Many a time extension workers have to encounter the social practices which are deep-rooted in tradition while introducing a change. Neither appeals nor logic can easily persuade the village people to give up their traditional ways of life. Therefore cultural factors governing traditional ways of life determine the nature of public participation in many undertakings. For example, in order to encourage cultural programmes in the villages the government gives requisite aid to bhajana mandals, dramatic clubs, mahila mandals etc. But the members belonging to the Scheduled Castes such as Madigas, Chalawadis, Asadis hardly participate in these programmes because the traditional ways of life forbid the members belonging to these castes to join such organisations. Even though legal barrier is not there, culture acts as a barrier for public participation.

Various factors interplay affecting programmes of directed change in the general area of social structure. The stratification of the society in the hierarchical castes with their associated norms and expected standards of behavior posed a number of problems to the development works. Extension workers should solicit the active co-operation of all the villagers. Therefore the extension worker has to use considerable tact in choosing a particular group through which he intends to initiate extension works. This is by no means an easy job. Inter-group rivalries and prejudices tend to jeopardise the entire programme if proper caution is not exercised. If the extension worker identifies himself too much with the traditional elites he is sure to alienate the non-privileged group, and if on the other hand he attempts to push his plan through with the help of the low-castes he is likely to incur the displeasure of the traditional elites.

In conclusion it may be said that people's attitude to work and life, hardened by stagnation, isolation, ignorance and poverty and underpinned by tradition and often by religion are frequently found to be inimical to change of any kind. But people, even the poorest often set their sights not upon individual progress but upon mere

survival. Many programmes are rejected because not only people are traditionally minded, conservative and cheerful optimists but also the innovations in all their ramifications do not fit out the total cultural setting of the community. So it may be said that in devising action programmes of Community Development it is necessary to keep in mind the cultural factors that vitally influence their acceptance or rejection by the people.

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# THE CRIME—ITS ADMINISTRATION IN MYSORE STATE

K. M. GOUDAR

## Crime—as a Social Evil

To ensure social security there is a paramount need to detect the social evils and to find out the ways and means to eradicate the same. Of all the evils, crime is a major social evil. The crime is an act of an individual resulting out of his maladjustment to the dictates of society and/or of law passed by the government to safeguard the interests of the society. In other words, any act done against the accepted principles of the society is known as an offence or crime. The man who does such an act is known as offender or criminal.

## Why Crime is a Social Evil

Crime is a violation of code—a code/codes set by custom or through enactment by the government. It is a deviant behaviour, a socially undesirable element and a breach in the social order. It results in injury or harm to the person, property and/or to the government. A criminal not only ruins himself but also ruins his family and dependents. It is an attack on social security and therefore the criminal is regarded as an enemy of the society.

## Causal Factors

Mr. S.V. Rao<sup>1</sup> has aptly said that there are a multitude of factors that come into play in the causation of crime in India. The factors influencing a man to indulge in an offence/offences are said to be social, economic, personal and political.

The social factors include the ignorance of the parents, broken homes, indecent home surroundings, defective family discipline etc.

The economic factors include poverty, unemployment, urbanization and industrialization resulting in bad living conditions provided to the working class and in the abnormal behaviour by the agglomerated people.

The personal factors include all those physical, mental, biological and emotional aberrations that induce a person to indulge in antisocial activity or by which an individual's desires find an outlet in crime.

There are also political reasons like disobeying the law and order of the land by a particular partymen doing some criminal activity like murder, to reduce the strength of another party etc., which contribute, to an extent, to the growth of crimes in the nation.

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1. Rao, S. V., "Facets of Crime In India", P. 14.

### **Need For Control of Crime**

Because of the various reasons mentioned above the complete eradication is not possible in any society. To a little or more extent there will be crime potentiality in the country. However it is essential to reduce the incidence of criminal activities by appropriate means.

Otherwise, the crimes will mount at an alarming rate and the society will be in disorder. It is mainly because the crimes produce such seeds that weaken the existence of the society. The consequential effects of crimes are that, the people are deprived of the provision of social security; the social morality is hit hard and the people lose faith in the laws by which they are ruled. In short, the crimes hinder the socio-economic development and jeopardise the prosperity of the nation. Therefore, the need arises to study the growth of crimes and its potentiality, and effects of measures already taken to eradicate them, so that the improvements can be brought into force to have an effective control over crimes.

The purpose of this paper is to present the crime rate and its administration in the Mysore State. The data gathered here all pertain to Mysore State. The real conditions prevailing in the state are contradictory to the general impressions of the Indian Public. The problem of crimes is mounting year by year and they have been improperly administered in the state. That is why, an attempt has been made to analyse crimes and their administration. And it is also attempted to suggest some means to improve the situation in the state.

### **The Crime Rate In The State**

The emperical studies made by many Sociologists on the crime rate in India have shown that in Mysore State the rates of different crimes are below the average crime rates in India. To emphasise the statement, the differential rates of property crimes, and crimes against person in India are given in the following table 1. (P. 166).

From the table we find that the volume of crime per lakh of population in Mysore State due to dacoity, robbery, house breaking and theft are .49, .56, 23.29 and 36.74 respectively; whereas the average crime rates of India under the respective heads are .82, 1.54, 27.09 and 65.48. Therefore, it is obvious that the property crime rates in state are much below the average crime rates because even in the case of crimes due to cheating and criminal breach of trust, the rates form almost  $\frac{2}{5}$  of the average crime rates. Coming to the crime rates against person, we find from the same table that except murder, the crimes due to riot, kidnapping and abduction in Mysore State are much below the average crime rates. These facts may give an impression that the crimes have been properly administered and controlled

TABLE I.  
Differential Rates of Property Crimes and Crimes against Person. Rates for 8 States (1964–1966 Average)

State	Volume of Crimes per 1,00,000 Population									
	Property Crimes					Crimes Against Person				
	Daocity	Robbary	House breaking	Ordinary Theft	Cheating	Criminal breach of Trust	Murder	Riot	Kidnapping and abduction	
Andhra Pradesh	.21	0.42	14.76	27.56	.80	2.06	2.30	5.16	0.30	
Gujarat	.34	2.07	19.22	45.56	2.44	4.41	3.14	2.06	1.21	
Madras	.10	0.40	20.83	52.93	2.30	4.66	1.76	6.96	1.26	
Maharashtra	.79	3.24	29.95	86.43	3.70	6.77	2.80	3.16	1.20	
Mysore	.49	0.56	23.29	36.74	1.32	2.68	2.82	4.43	0.48	
Uttar Pradesh	2.30	3.10	44.33	66.13	2.40	7.50	3.00	7.70	1.56	
West Bengal	1.12	1.27	27.11	61.67	2.86	3.49	1.28	12.40	1.84	
Union Territories	1.22	2.26	37.26	146.85	8.27	10.69	2.03	7.18	6.55	
Average	.82	1.54	27.09	65.48	3.01	5.28	2.39	6.13	1.80	

Source: Extract from Table 2, 3 and 5 given by D. N. Dhanagare in his article "Urbanization and Crime" published in Economic and Political Weekly Journal 1969 issue.



in the Mysore State and there might be a declining trend in the occurrence of crimes in the state. But the real conditions prevailing in the state are quite the reverse. That is why, an effort has been made here to depict the growth of crimes and the inefficient administration and control machinery existing in the state.

Table 2 gives us a clear picture of the crime rates in the state during the period 1961 to 1967.

The table shows that the total crimes have increased rapidly from year to year except from 1962 to 1966. No doubt, there is a decline in total crimes in 1967 but the ultimate condition is that during this period of 7 years crimes have increased almost by 200 per cent. Even if we take into account the rate of total crimes per 100,000 population we find that the rate has increased from 1,495 in 1961 to 3,413 in 1967. The analysis of total crimes conveys that during this period there has been a gradual increase in the cognizable crimes, but non-cognizable crimes have ultimately declined. Out of the cognizable crimes, those against state, person, property etc., falling under classes 1st to 5th have increased in absolute figures from 247,32 in 1961 to 317,87 in 1967 and their rate per lakh population is 104 in 1961 and 119 in 1967. On the otherhand, the cognizable crimes under special and local laws have increased very rapidly and there has been an absolute increase by 550,358 during the period 1961 to 1967. In terms of rate per 100,000 population, there has been an increase by 1,928 from 1,304 in 1961 to 3,232 in 1967. These figures reveal that in Mysore State the crimes are on the increase; with the increase in the population the crime rates have also increased and there has not been proper administration of special and local laws. Consequently the crimes under these laws have grown at a fast rate since 1965. Even in the case of non-cognizable crimes we find at times that there is no proper control over them. The rate of non-cognizable crimes of classes I to V was 20 in 1964 but increased to 86 and 82 in 1965 and 1966 respectively. Similarly the rate of non-cognizable crimes of class VI has increased from 46 in 1962 to 76 and 70 in 1963 and 1964 respectively. This leads to the fact that this major social evil shall be attended with effective measures so as to assure the moral, physical and property security to the people of the society.

#### **Administration of Crimes in The State**

For an effective control and administration, the men at the helm of affairs should work with honesty and fair mindedness. The strength of civil police has been increased from 249,05 in 1961 to 283,98 in 1967. During this period a good number of deputy superintendents, inspectors, sub-inspectors, head-constables and constables have been recruited to strengthen the police force so as to control the increase

TABLE 2.

## The Crime Rate In The State

Year	Cognizable crimes I TO V Class Reported in the year	Cognizable crimes class VI Reported in the year	Non-cognizable crimes class I to V Reported in the year	Non-cognizable crimes class VI Reported in the year	Total crimes	Mid year estimated population first July of each year	Rate of cognizable crimes I to V per 1,00,000 population	Rate of cognizable crimes VI per 1,00,000 population	Rate of non-cognizable crimes I TO V per 1,00,000 population	Rate of non-cognizable crimes VI per 1,00,000 population	Year of Total crimes per population.
1961	24,732	3,09,648	5,277	15,438	3,55,095	2,37,45,375	104	1,304	22	65	1,495
1962	24,332	2,97,863	4,328	11,183	3,37,706	2,42,21,193	101	1,230	18	46	1,395
1963	24,652	3,04,628	5,656	18,787	3,53,723	2,46,97,011	100	1,236	23	76	1,435
1964	26,499	3,23,181	4,985	17,731	3,72,396	2,51,72,829	105	1,284	20	70	1,479
1965	27,843	6,15,105	21,656	12,592	6,77,196	2,56,48,647	109	2,398	86	49	2,642
1966	31,223	9,74,435	21,386	11,757	10,38,801	2,61,24,465	120	3,732	82	45	3,979
1967	31,787	8,60,006	4,369	12,276	9,08,438	2,66,00,283	119	3,232	16	46	3,413

Source: Extract from Statistical Abstract of Mysore 1967-1968.

in crimes with the increase in population. The state has incurred a large amount of expenditure on the maintenance of civil police. The cost of civil police has increased from 387.03 lakhs (forming 4.2 per cent of state revenue) in 1961 to 684.55 lakhs (forming 4.4 per cent of state revenue) in 1967. Thus the cost of administration has increased by almost 100 per cent in absolute terms. These facts have been revealed in table 3.

TABLE NO. 3.

**Strength and Cost of Civil Police in the Mysore State**

Year	Total strength of civil police	Rate per 1,00,000 Population	Cost of Civil Police (Rs. in Lakhs)	Total State revenue (Rs. in lakhs)	Cost of Civil police as a percentage of state revenue
1961	24,905	105	387.03	9207.35	4.2
1962	25,697	106	393.89	9101.86	4.3
1963	26,619	108	442.07	9181.48	4.8
1964	27,577	110	469.75	10208.82	4.6
1965	28,204	110	583.30	11106.21	5.2
1966	28,309	108	628.33	12048.72	5.2
1967	28,398	107	684.55	15640.01	4.4

*Source:* Extract from tables 18.1 and 28.13 given in statistical Abstract of Mysore State 1967–1968 published by Bureau of Economics and Statistics Government of Mysore, Bangalore.

Although we have built up an adequate civil police force and a good amount of state revenue is being used for the maintenance of civil police force, the administration of crimes has not very much improved. For instance let us know how far the civil police have been able to recover the property stolen. This is given in the table (P. 170).

The table shows that in 1960 out of 126,99 stolen cases 7,568 cases have been recovered where as in 1967 out of 1,84,20 stolen cases only 1,05,69 cases have been recovered. As a result, the percentage of cases, in which property was stolen decreases from 59.60 per cent in 1960 to 57.49 per cent in 1967. No doubt the value of property recovered has increased both in absolute as well as percentage figures, there has not been any appreciable increase in the value. All this shows that inspite of increase in the strength and cost of civil police there is no material improvement in the control and administration of crimes in the state.



TABLE No. 4.

## Administrative Statistics – Police. Property Stolen and Recovered

Year	No. of cases in which property was stolen	No. of cases in which property was recovered	Percentage of cases in which property was recovered to cases in which property was stolen	Amount of property stolen in Rs.	Amount of property recovered in Rs.	Percentage of property recovered to value of property stolen.
1960	12,699	7,568	59.60	29,83,192	11,91,940	39.95
1961	12,940	7,133	55.12	35,03,682	12,50,120	35.68
1962	12,552	6,730	53.60	40,68,521	16,85,528	41.43
1963	12,453	7,022	56.38	35,85,316	15,18,468	42.35
1964	12,837	7,875	61.34	49,67,455	19,88,136	38.30
1965	15,037	8,129	54.06	47,07,378	20,99,269	44.38
1966	18,267	10,445	57.18	1,01,21,302	43,05,276	42.54
1967	18,420	10,589	57.49	73,19,443	34,70,772	47.24

Source: (Inspector General of Police, Bangalore.) Cited in Statistical Abstract of Mysore 1967–68 pp. 284.

### Suggestions and Conclusion

The above analysis indicates that though Mysore State is on the safer side as far as crime occurrence is concerned in relation to India's averages of different categories of crimes, we cannot take pride in their control within Mysore State. No doubt, the state has the necessary strength of administrative force and enforcement of laws, but the figures do not impress unless they are substantiated by the fulfilment of the objectives. In Mysore State the administrative machinery will have to be improved. Otherwise, the state's position in respect of crimes and their control may become worse. In view of the above statement, some suggestions to improve the task of administration and control of crimes in Mysore State may be in order.

1. Table 2 shows that the cognizable crimes of class VI, that is, under special and local laws have increased by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times approximately during a period of seven years between 1961 and 1967. It does mean that these laws do not include very rigid provisions regarding imposition of fine or punishment to such criminals. It also means that many of the provisions are ambiguous and, therefore, these laws shall be suitably amended so as to introduce suitable provisions with an ultimate aim of reducing the crime rate and not merely to detect the crimes and to classify the same for the purpose of conviction.

2. There should be a separate body such as a state bureau of criminal research for the purpose of analysing and evaluating the crimes according to causes, regions and administrative departments, so that appropriate corrective measures can be taken quickly and effectively to reduce the crime rate in the state.

3. In the reduction of crimes, the citizens also play a considerable role and therefore, there is a need to educate the society on a mass scale regarding the evil effects of crime. For this, a mass publicity by way of publication of pamphlets, conducting of lectures, showing of films and training of social workers, is necessary.

4. To change the criminal attitude of the convicts in the jails, a vigorous imprisonment and imprisonment for a longer time will not be as much effective as that of an opportunity to learn about the evil effects of crimes. So, the inmates of jails should be given lessons on the evil effects of crimes and what actually moral behaviour means.

The above suggestions if implemented will certainly help to create a better social environment wherein the citizens can understand their role in crime reduction for social rehabilitation. Not only that, they help to a greater extent in effectively administering and controlling the crimes. The alliance of these measures with advanced measures of economic development will provide to the society the most secure and prosperous state to live in.

It is not only the state and the local authorities that can minimise and eliminate the crimes but the citizens also have got their own role to play in this field as stressed by Dr. M. J. Sethana:<sup>2</sup>

“The problem of crime is a problem for every citizen and not merely for the state or the municipality. Every citizen should step forward and do his best towards helping the spread of good education and relief of distress. Those who have money should help by money, as also by service, and those who are poor can serve and help and thus contribute towards bettering the lot of erring and suffering humanity.”

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2. Sethana, M. J., “Society and the Criminal” p. 51.

## THE GOZALAVĪḌU INSCRIPTION OF BUKKARĀYA VOḌEYALU

B. R. GOPAL

**G**ozalavīḍu, also called Vāgupalli, is a small village about six miles to the east of Kanigiri which is a taluk headquarters in Ongole district of Andhra Pradesh. Till recently, this taluk was in the Nellore district.

The present record is found engraved on two faces of a stone lying in a field belonging to Ētagiri Kēśavulu and Channayya, about two furlongs away from the village. Near the stone is found an image of Nandi. Old people in the village told me of a tradition current among them that this area was formerly part of a fairly big town which had gone to ruins. Occasionally, after a heavy rainfall, the farmers get one or two gold coins while ploughing. In the present record there is a reference to god Mallikārjuna whose temple was probably situated in the vicinity in the 14th-15th centuries. The record itself is engraved in Telugu characters of this period, i.e. 14th-15th centuries.

This record in Telugu language has been published in the *Nellore District Inscriptions (N.D.I.)* by Messrs Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty.<sup>1</sup> It registers gifts of land to the gods Mallikārjunadēva of Gosavīḍu and Bhīmēśvaradēva by Yiḍumakarṇṭhi Gangireḍḍi for the merit of his parents, Peddireḍḍi and Bānasāni. The donor is described as the servant (*baṁṭṭu*) of Bukkarāya Oḍeya. The latter bears a large number of epithets like *mūrurāyara gaṁḍa*, *arirāyavibhāḷa*, and *bhāshegetappuvarāyara gaṁḍa*. He is further described as the worshipper of the feet of god Virūpākshadēva. These being the titles usually borne by the ruler of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara, scholars have identified Bukkarāya Oḍeya of this record with a ruler of that name in the Sangama dynasty.

The most important point in the record is its date. The authors of the *N. D. I.* read the Śaka year as 1236 and this was equated with 1314 A.D. But, since this was too early a date for Bukka I, the editors of the *N. D. I.* surmised that Bukkarāya of this record may probably be the father of Sangama, and hence a grandfather of Bukka I.<sup>2</sup> This view was accepted by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya<sup>3</sup> who, however, later on changed his opinion and suggested that "it is not however impossible that the chief mentioned in the inscription under consideration was identical with Bukka I himself".<sup>4</sup>

It is Dr. Venkataramanayya that has emphatically argued that the founders of Vijayanagara were originally subordinates of the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra. For this he put forward as evidence the



traditional accounts of the history of the Sangamas as recorded in late literary works called *Vidyāraṇya Kārajñāna* and *Vidyāraṇya Vṛit-tānta* of the 16th century and *Keḷadinripavijaya* of the 18th century.

The earliest of these, the *Vidyāraṇya Kārajñāna* is in Sanskrit and is believed to have been the work of the sage Vidyāraṇya himself. According to this the two brothers who were mainly responsible for the foundation of the empire were originally in the service of Pratāparudra of Warangal; they sought shelter in the Hampi region under Rāmanātha, the ruler of Kampili when Warangal was destroyed by the Sultan of Delhi; they were taken to Delhi when Kampili fell into the hands of the Sultan; they were sent back to Karnāṭa to subdue Ballāḷa who rebelled against him, and with the blessings and support of the sage Vidyāraṇya they founded the Vijayanagara kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

This work associated the two brothers with the Andhra region that was under the domain of the Kākatīyas. But this is only legendary standing uncorroborated by any tangible contemporary evidence. For Dr. Venkataramanayya the Gozalavīḍu record seemed to offer a stand to prove his theory. Though the editors of the *N. D. I.* hesitated to identify Bukkarāya Voḍeya with Bukka I due to its very early date, viz., 1314 A.D., for Venkataramanayya it did not matter for, "several of the younger contemporaries of Pratāparudra lived upto the closing decades of the 14th century".<sup>6</sup> Since there are some records of the Kākatīyas around Gozalavīḍu, dated earlier than 1323 A.D. by which year the Kākatīyas lost their kingdom, it was further surmised that Bukka I of that record "must have been a subordinate of Pratāparudra about A.D. 1314".

The inscription, however, does not help us to arrive at such a conclusion. The introductory part of the record has nothing in common with any record of the Kākatīyas. It has absolutely no connection to Pratāparudra, nor does it say that Bukka was a subordinate of the Kākatīya or of any other ruler for that matter. On the other hand, Bukkarāya Voḍeya bears titles like *mūrirāyaraḡaṇḍa* etc. which are typical to the early rulers of Vijayanagara and not of any feudatories. He is also described as *samastabhuvanāśraya*, an epithet which Pratāparudra would not have tolerated a subordinate of his to bear. Further, Bukka is said to be the worshipper of the holy feet of god Virūpākshadēva, obviously god Virūpāksha of Hampi.<sup>7</sup> It is not possible to explain how, if Bukka was a chief in the Andhra region at all, he came to be a devotee of Virūpāksha of Hampi.

The most crucial part of the record, because of the rather undue importance it has gained, is its date. It is read as Śaka 1236, Ānanda, Vaiśākha śu. 5, Thursday. This inscription has now been copied by me. It is very clear that the year is not 1236 but 1296. The numeral 9 is in cursive characters. It can in no way be read as 3 and so 1236.<sup>8</sup>

The details of this date are irregular. The given *tithi* corresponds to 17th April 1374 A.D. when the week-day was Monday and not Thursday.

It is quite well known that the year 1374 A.D. falls in the reign-period of Bukka I who was the ruling king of Vijayanagara. Whatever may have been the position of the present Ongole and Nellore districts in 1314 A.D., sixty years later, by 1374 A.D., it certainly formed a part of the Udayagiri-rājya which was one of the provinces of Vijayanagara empire. Near about Gozalavīḍu, at Guruvāḷipēṭa, we have a record of Harihara II, dated 1377 A.D. Hence, our record is one of the several that indicate the extent of Vijayanagara kingdom in that period and in no way is it an important record to show that Bukka was a feudatory of the Kākatīyas.

This would leave the late traditional story of the foundation of Vijayanagara without any corroborative evidence and so only a story. There is nothing to show that the founders hailed from the Andhra region. On the other hand. Dr. Desai has clearly proved that the founders belonged to Karnataka.<sup>9</sup>

## TEXT

### First face<sup>10</sup>

1. *Aṁḍa(aṁḍha) kāsura-mada-bhanjana tārakā-*
2. *sura-gaja-kaṇṭhīrava garvvita-vanajāsana*
3. *paṁchcha(cha)ma-śirōhāra sakala-brahmāṇḍa-bhā-*
4. *mḍḍa(mḍa) saṁgha[ṭa]na | Kailāsa-kaṭaka-kamaniyya(ya)*
5. *skandāvāra sūriryya(sūrya)-sōm-āgni-lōchana*
6. *sūriryya(sūrya)-sōm-āgni-mahījala | samī-*
7. *ra-gagan-ātma-yāshṭamūrte asṭaiśvariyya(aiśvaryya)-dā*
8. *yaka aparimita-guṇa-kaḷāpa śrī Sadāśi-*
9. *va-ēkōḍāta-tadāhi || Svasti samastabu(bhu)-*
10. *vanāśraya paṁchamahāśabda mahāmamḍa-*
11. *lēśvara mūrurāyaraḡamḍḍa(mḍa) hari(ari)rā-*
12. *yavibā(bhā)ḷa bhashadappuva<sup>11</sup>rāyarā(ra)-*
13. *gaṁḍḍa(mḍa) navakhamḍḍa(mḍa) pritvīśvara Virū-*
14. *pākshidēva<sup>12</sup>di! [vya\*] śrīpāda-padmarā-*
15. *dhakulaina śrī Bukkaraya Oḍeyala ba-*
16. *mṭtu(mṭu) Yidumakamṭṭi(mṭi) Gaṁggiredḍimḡaru*
17. *Svasti śrī Śakavarshambulu 1296 a-*
18. *gunēmṭi Ānanda samvatsara Vaiśākha*
19. *śu 5 Gu | tamḍri Peddireḍḍikini talli Bāna-*
20. *sānikimni buṁṇemugānu Gosu-*
21. *vīṭi Mallikhā(kā)rju[na\*] dēvaraku vri(vri)tti Sim-*
22. *ggam(gam)pāṭi kha | na 5 [Bhīmē] sva (śva)ra-*

23. *dēvaraku vri (vṛi)tti Siṅga(ga)pāṭi kha* |
24. *dhūpa-dīpa-naivēdyanakai gā* | *ā-*
25. *chandra-tār-ārkkamugā dā(dhā)ravōsi*

Second face<sup>13</sup>

26. *rāri || śrī . . . .*
27. *Braṁmajiyya [la] pu-*
28. *. . . lu galigi bradu[ku\*] vāru ||*
29. *. . . Vīru saptasamānambu*
30. *. . . bōyinaṁvāru || yi vṛitti chelli*
31. *. . . [ko] ḍukun jamppi(mpi)na pāpāna*
32. *. . . mppi(mpi)na dōshāmaṁ bōyi [na\*] vāru*
33. *. . . drōchinānu gaṁgalō gōvun ja . . . .*
34. *. . . yi vṛitti sāsanaṁ evvaru*<sup>14</sup>

## NOTES

1. Vol. II. Kg. 7.
2. Vol. III, p. 1467.
3. *Origin of the City and Empire of Vijayanagara*, p. 99.
4. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 29, note
5. These details are not uniform in the Hindu literary sources. The *Vṛittānta*, in Kannada, does not, for example, refer to the two brothers coming to Kampili. Neither of these refer to the conversion of these brothers to Islam.
6. *Ibid.*, It may be seen that the author states in the foot note that Bukka I died in 1368 A. D., probably because he wanted to suitably adjust the life span, while later, on p. 77 discussing the reign period of Bukka I, he correctly refers to the evidence of inscriptions according to which that king died in the beginning of 1377 A. D.! Could this be, otherwise, an error by oversight?
7. Another record in the Kanigiri taluk belonging to Harihara II and dated 1377 A. D., just 3 years after the date of our record, describes that king also as *Virūpākshadēva-divya-śrī-pādapadmārādhaka*.
8. Sri N. Lakshminarayanarao (Retired Govt. Epigraphist for India), Dr. G. S. Gai (Chief Epigraphist, Govt of India) and Dr. P. B. Desai have all examined this record and they agree with the reading of the date as 1296.
9. *Journal of Karnatak University* (Social Sciences), Vol. VI, pp. 175 ff.
10. *In situ*, and from original estampages. The wrong readings in *N.D.I.* have been rectified here.
11. Read *Bhāshegetappuva*
12. Read *Virūpākshadēva*
13. The backside of the slab is damaged and parts of the record, on either ends, mutilated.
14. The epigraph stops here abruptly.



# COMMUNITY ORGANISATION—ITS USE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

S. R. SHASTRY\*

(In this paper the author makes an attempt to focus the use of Community Organisation Method in Community Development Programme in India)

**T**HE History of Social Work reveals the fact that for a long time the Social Workers were mainly engaged in social case work. It was much later that group work and community organisation were included in the curricula of social work. It was for that reason that the social workers did not find a considerable place in Community Development, earlier. Later with the inclusion of group work and community organisation in social work curricula the scope for community organisation method in community development is clearly witnessed. In the following lines an attempt has been made to estimate the relationship between community organisation method and community development and use of the former in the later programme.

## **Community Organisation:**

Community organisation as per Murray G. Ross, is “a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, ranks them, develops the confidence and will to work at them, finds the resources to deal with them, takes action in respect to them and in so doing extends and develops co-operative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.”<sup>1</sup>

## **Community Development:**

“The word community development has come into international usage to mean the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of government authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress. This complex of processes is then made up of two essential elements—the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible on their own initiative, and the provision of technical and other services, in ways which encourage initiative, self-help, and mutual help, and make these more effective.”<sup>2</sup>

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In other words, community organisation is a social work method primarily concerned with social process of working with people, and Community Development is concerned with more general aspects of social process at the level of planning and administrations which needs interdisciplinary team work.

Since the inception of Community Development Programme in India in 1952, professional Social Work has not found any place in the programme. It was laid down in the First Five Year Plan that "a Social Worker of the requisite calibre, background and training will be the pivot of the Centre." Such community centre was expected to serve 50–60 villages. But while implementing the programme the due recognition for Social Workers was not provided. The personnel who had the major concern with the programme implementation often compelled to be target minded and they manipulated the people. They failed to prepare the people for the programme taking into account, their basic agricultural character, illiteracy and conservative outlook.

The human factors in community development programme call for special attention. The motivation of the people is a crucial element. The traditional beliefs and customs influence both individual and group motivation. Hence before any change is sought to be introduced, it would be desirable to know the opinion of the community on it

The group dynamics of the village community is always controlled by the customs, beliefs, traditions, dominant caste, faction etc. While working with the village community, all these factors should be borne in mind to establish rapport with them to evolve a working relationship, so as to educate them about change and prepare them for it.

Considering all the above factors which have a considerable hold on human activity, the community organisation method would be of much use in preparing the people for community development programme.

### **The Road Repair:**

A case—a Social Service Camp was organised at Mansur a village near Dharwar Town. The author with his students used Community Organisation techniques in the completion of the project work of the camp. They met the people number of times in order to establish rapport. Later the village leaders representing different strata of the community were consulted in finding out the needs of the village. The needs expressed were cleaning the well, the road repair and a culvert. Discussed with the people about the availability of the resources and accordingly the need for road repair was

ranked high. As the people were consulted in determining their felt need they took the project work as their own responsibility and came forward to participate in it in a majority. As the road under repair was at the entrance of the village it attracted people for work when they passed nearby the project area. The people gave necessary impliments and the village blacksmith voluntarily repaired the iron implements. The involvement of the people was noticeable and as a result within short time of ten days the road repair of about 200 yds. was completed. It is learnt that people express their gratitude to the social workers and they are making use of the road. In this project while establishing the rapport, ranking the needs, recognising the resources and inspiring the people to participate, Community organisation techniques were used. Similar techniques can be used in the community development projects.

Community organisation plays an important role and is found to be a useful method of working with the people. It is stressed that community organisation is an essential pre-requisite of community development in revitalising the rural people. If community development by extension education would like to impart the knowledge of improved practices to rural people, community organisation is the process of organising and involving them in action. Hence community organisation and extension education are the two sides of the same coin—community development.

Tom Sherrard, while discussing the similarities and differences of community organisation and community development quotes, "Sander has colourfully suggested that the term is born of a union of economic development and community organisation since it bears the last name of the one and the first name of the other."<sup>3</sup> The United Nations defines "development is growth plus change; change, in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic, and qualitative as well as quantitative. . . ."<sup>4</sup> Thus, the community development programme aims both at growth, and progress. The progress is brought by change. The introduction of change and its adoption would largely depend upon how people have been educated and helped to realise. This is the job which can be done by community organisation, as it alone can inspire people's interaction and assist them in developing their own capacity and resources. Hence, community organisation is often the culmination of prolonged process of extension education and the state of preparedness of community to start, sustain and stabilise developmental activity. Thus, the community organiser would help the people to mobilise the resources and shape them into a specific programme—a programme of activity under community development—to meet their needs and attain progress. While doing so he can follow any approach of community organisation as for example,



the specific activity approach, the general field approach or the educational process approach, and try to bring solidarity in the village and motivate people for social action. C.F. McNeil's definition of community organisation would reveal the scope of activity for a community organiser: "Community organisation... has been defined as the process of bringing about the maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs within a geographic area or functional field."<sup>5</sup>

Further, it can be said that the community organiser would diagnose the community, help to change its motivation and assist them to recognise and realise their needs and plan their activity to solve them. He would help the community to develop leaders, and meanwhile commonly trusted and obeyed leaders of the community would be helped to proceed in the community action. The co-operation between various agencies is nourished. Here the community organiser would make use of community centres like mahila samaj, youth clubs, farmers clubs and religious associations like bhajana mandals. These centres would exercise greater control over the people. An activity moved through bhajana mandal, even for that matter through a gossip group, may receive a greater impetus. If the village does not have such centres he would try to build them. The Indian Adult Education Association defines community organisation as "a process by which the capacity of the community to function as an integrated unit grows as it deals with one or more community problems." The more the group members are able to control their affairs, the more they feel responsible. Hence community organisation becomes a meaningful process in community development.

In the Indian community where the majority of the people are illiterate, resources being limited the community organiser has the greater burden in initiating social effort, awareness and proper sense of utilizing services for the development. The evaluation of Community Development Programme in India, paints a very poor picture about the success of the programme. Many are doubting about the future of the programme. At this critical time the greater responsibility lies on the personnel of Community Development Programme to revitalise the people in their thinking about the programme. In this important task the Social Workers who are adequately trained in Community Organisation can create an awareness among the people about the programme and infuse the spirit of social action for the mass development programmes of the village.

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## INCIDENCE OF ABORTION

N. B. KASHAPPAGAUDAR

**I**s incidence of abortion higher among married women or unmarried girls? Does it have a positive correlation with age? Do women accept abortion more easily with increasing parity or not? Do women of higher economic status resort to abortion more frequently than those of low income group? Lastly, is incidence of abortion higher among urban women as compared to rural women? These are some of the pertinent questions relating to incidence of abortion. Although little is known in India about the incidence of abortion relating to above questions, still an earnest attempt is made to find out feasible answers to them on the basis of data available. Other queries relating to incidence of abortion, though many, will not come within the purview of this article.

### **Incidence of Abortion by Marriage**

The works of Acsadi, Barsey, Hirschler, Klinger and Miltengy indicated that 90 per cent of women in Hungary resorting to interruption of pregnancy were married. In Denmark, 76 per cent, in Chile 85 per cent, in Japan 60 per cent and in U.S.A. about 55 per cent of all abortions were for married women. The same view is expressed by MacGillivray who says: "Of the women with abortions, 30 in 1110 or 2.7 per cent were not married. The average illegitimacy rate for the five years 1952-56 was 2.4 per cent in Northern Ireland but 2.33 percent in Belfast in 1956. The illegitimacy rate in England and Wales in 1958 was nearly 5 per cent."<sup>1</sup> The view that abortion is primarily a concern of married women can also be justified by Amsterdam study when it reveals that, "... the proportion of unmarried among those who induce abortion is smaller than is sometimes believed. Of the 84 women among those interviewed, who had been hospitalised for complicated (probably induced) abortion 16 (or 19%) were unmarried. Induced abortion in Amsterdam, therefore, is primarily a problem of married women."<sup>2</sup> According to rough estimate, Dr. Darbari says, there were 65,00,000 abortion cases in India every year. Of these 39,00,000 were induced abortions. . . . Eighty-five to ninety-five per cent of the women who had abortions were married and did not want large families on economic grounds.<sup>3</sup> By weighing the information pooled from these sources, it appears that legalising abortion will not normally lead to a spurt in the rate of illegitimacy as feared by some. Because, "man's morality is not built on law, but is obviously governed by established sex norms and values. If morality is based on fear



of law other than the societal fear, what is the worth of such morality controlled by law? If law is taken into cognition as the basis of morality, it is nothing but unjust calculation of moral norms and values. After all, it is the conscience, and not law, which is the greatest check-mate against deviant sexual behaviour.”<sup>4</sup> But the systematic studies in this direction are lacking in India. Still, on the basis of studies made in other countries and rough abortion estimates available in India, it may be assumed that even in India, the pregnancy wastage is basically, a concern of married women.

### **Incidence of Abortion by Age**

It has been pointed out by S.N. Agarawala’s study<sup>5</sup> that the abortion rate in age-group 20-24 was 17.9. While the abortion rate of 18.8, 31.6, 19.0 were in the age-group 25-29, 30-34, and 35 and above respectively. Similarly, according to 1966 series of Family Planning Training and Research Centre (FPT and RC) Bombay, 8.1 per cent of women who had abortions fall in the age-group 24 and below. While 9.4 per cent, 20.4, 23.1 and 37.5 per cent of women who had abortions fall under the 25-29, 30-34, 35-39 and 40 and above age-groups respectively.<sup>6</sup> The foetal wastage study in Punjab by Khanna and the Gandhigram study of a weaver community also showed increase in the rate of pregnancy wastage with increasing age of mothers. Thus, the wealth of statistics shows that there will be high incidence of abortion with increasing age.

### **Incidence of Abortion by Parity**

The 1966 series of FPT and RC indicated that 3.0 per cent of women who had abortions fall in the parity group of 0.2, whereas, the per cent of women who had abortions falling in parity group of 3,4,5,6 and above is 16.5, 17.8, 27.6 and 40.8 respectively.<sup>7</sup> The same view is stressed by the work of Bachi and Mantras carried out in Israel. It may, therefore, be argued that the percentage reporting abortion accelerates with higher parities. The acceleration in interruption of pregnancy with increasing age and with increasing parities may be attributed to the fact that women at this stage of life want no more children.

### **Incidence of Abortion by Occupational Status**

The occupational status or the economic condition of the family also plays a decisive role in the incidence of abortion. The view that high occupational status will lead to high abortion rates is held by Tara Patankar when she states that, “for women in upper class, the abortion rates per 100 pregnancies is 32.9. Whereas, abortion rate

comes to 28.6 for women in lower strata.”<sup>8</sup> As put forth by Asha Bhende, “The abortion rate is 7.1 for those women whose family income is between Rs. 300 and 449 and 5.01 where the family income is between Rs. 100-299. The abortion rate of 20 for the group with a family income Rs. 1000/- cannot be taken into consideration as there are only 2 women in this group with a total of 10 pregnancies.”<sup>9</sup> The study of coital frequency from 1118 family planning cases conducted in 1961 also reveals that, “The rate of abortion, induced or spontaneous, indicate a pregnancy waste—the highest being in the highest income group.”<sup>10</sup> Further, FPT and RC study (1959) indicates a high prevalence of both induced as well as natural abortion in the lower income group. It also brings forth that induced abortions are more frequent than natural abortions in the higher income group.<sup>11</sup> All the above studies show the positive correlation between high income and high abortion rate. But, Sarah Isreal’s study does not agree with the above studies when it states that, in the income group Rs. 100 and below the incidence of women who aborted was 4.8 % as compared with 13 % in the income group Rs. 101-300. In the income group Rs. 301-500, the incidence of women who aborted was 14.2 % as compared with 10.1 % in the income group Rs. 501 and above.<sup>12</sup> Thus, one is rather uncertain whether the high income will necessarily lead to high abortion rate. On the one hand, we see positive correlation between high income and high abortion rate. On the other, it is observed that there is no increase in the incidence of abortion with increasing income. Does it mean that a direct relation between high income and high abortion rate holds true upto a certain limit of income? Or, does it mean that the abortion rate of increase will decelerate with increasing income in higher income level? Whatever the feasible cause or causes may be, this discussion brings forth that no definite trend has been established in this direction. Hence, intensive studies in this direction may be carried out to ascertain whether or not there is any positive correlation between higher income and higher abortion rate. Moreover, Coital Frequency Study (1961) and FPT and RC study (1959) do not give a correct picture of incidence of abortion, induced or natural. Thus, a scientific assessment of the incidence of abortion, natural or induced, needs a close study as it will be possible to ascertain whether the recent move on legalising abortion will bring about the desired demographic impact.

### **Incidence of Abortion by Previous Terminations**

In the 1960 series of the FPT and RC,<sup>13</sup> among the women who had reported induced abortion, 25 per cent reported more than one induced abortion. Similarly in 1966 series,<sup>14</sup> of 25 induced abortions, 6 were induced for the second time and one was a third induced abor-

tion. As stressed by Tara Patankar, "Of the 7872 currently married women who were married only once, a total of 1017 women had at least 1 abortion. These women had 5214 pregnancies and 1508 abortions. Thus, the abortion rate for these women comes to 28.9. This clearly indicates that those women who had at least 1 abortion had repeated abortions."<sup>15</sup> The same theme is stressed by Mukherjee and Biswas in their study based on hospital data in Calcutta in 1957. Moreover, the works of Eastman, R. Pearl, and Muramatsu carried out in other countries are also in agreement with the above studies. Thus, the conclusion may be ventured that the incidence of abortion will be high among those who have previous abortions. That the women who have previous abortions do return for repeated abortions may be due to the fact that once a woman adopts abortion, she finds it difficult to practice contraceptive measures. It means that she is more susceptible to have more abortions rather than to use contraceptive methods.

#### **Incidence of Abortion by Area**

The Mysore Population study indicated that "the abortion rate was found to be 7.9 per 100 pregnancies in Bangalore city and 4.1 per 100 pregnancies in the Rural Areas."<sup>16</sup> Similarly, in a demographic survey of six Rural Communities by Kumadini Dandekar a figure as low as 25 pregnancy wastage per 1000 pregnancies was, however, obtained.<sup>17</sup> Further, the same theme is stressed by the studies of Tassiq, Wiehl and Stevenson and others carried out in other countries. Thus, it may, therefore, be argued that the urban women-folk will embrace abortion more easily than their rural counterparts resulting in a lower fertility in urban areas.

On the basis of the information presented here, it may be argued that the incidence of abortion will accelerate with increasing age and with increasing parity. Further, high abortion rate can be witnessed among married women and in urban areas. Similarly, it also increases with women having previous terminations. But, no trend has been established between incidence of interruption of pregnancy and income.

Moreover, this discussion would raise a series of inevitable questions. Is the bulk of women falling in higher-age-group ready to accept abortion? Are the majority of married women both in rural and urban areas willing to resort to interruption of pregnancy? How many women having more number of parities adopt abortion? But, one cannot find answers on the basis of the studies already carried out on selected populations in India. But, the answers will have to be found out soon in order to know whether legalising abortion will



really act as one of the agents of fertility control as exemplified by the experience of Japan, Scandinavia and East European countries. Thus, intensive research covering wide cross-section of Indian population, may soon be carried out. And, the time for action is now.

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